FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Soviet Union

Vol III No 128 *6 July 1981*

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISARMAMENT/SALT/MBFR

Soltan Discusses Brezhnev's Arms Talks Offer AA 1
Shishkin Commentary on 'U.S. Imperialism' AA 1

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Reportage on the 35th CEMA Session in Sofia BB 1
Tikhonov Speech Cited BB 1
Second Day's Session BB 3
Session Ends BB 3
Press Conference Held BB 4

WORLD & REGIONAL ISSUES

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable' CC 1
[Demchenko, Lomeyko, Ariyevich]
CEMA Session CC 1
Peace Proposals, Brandt Visit CC 2
Near East, U.S. Policies CC 4
Views on China CC 6
'International Situation--Questions and Answers' CC 8
[Kosovan, Anichkin, Krasikov]
U.S. Policies Questioned CC 8
SALT Viewed CC 9
Events in China CC 10
French Events Discussed CC 11
Studio Nine Views European Events, Haig PRC Visit CC 13
[Zorin, Zagladin, Shishlin]
World War II, New Arms Race CC 13
View on Polish Situation CC 17
French Events Viewed CC 20
Haig PRC Visit CC 22
Talks, Peace Proposals CC 25
PLO, Arab League Score Sinai Peace Force Plan CC 26
[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Jun]

UNITED STATES & CANADA

Journalists Condemn U.S. Arms Supplies to Israel A 1
Levchenko Commentary A 1
Kharkov Comment A 1
Broadcasts to Poland Used for Spying, Sabotage A 2
CIA-Backed Radios A 2
U.S. Moves Against French Government Reviewed [Levchenko] A 3
'Greater Freedom of Action' Changes CIA Role [Dmitriyev] A 3
Washington 'Hypocritical' on Human Rights [Ablamov] A 4
New Appointment of Ernest Lefever Reported A 5
Officials Attend U.S. Envoy's 4 July Reception A 5
Comment on Independence Day A 5
Visiting U.S. Congressmen Tour Kiev Sights A 5

EASTERN EUROPE

Reportage, Communique on Gromyko's Polish Visit F 1
Departure From Moscow F 1
Arrival in Poland F 1
Wreath-Laying Ceremony F 1
Communique Issued F 1
Departure From Warsaw F 4
Return to Moscow F 4
Polish Reportage [cross-reference] F 4
IZVESTIYA Examines Polish Branch TU Situation F 5
[Druzenko, 1 Jul]
Sejm Approves Supreme Soviet Disarmanent Appeal F 7
Poland's Zbigniew Madej Addresses Sejm on Economy F 7
Reportage on Tikhonov's Visit to Bulgaria F 8
Talks With Zhivkov F 8
Tikhonov, Baybakov Given Award F 9

WESTERN EUROPE

Further Reportage on Brandt Visit to Moscow G 1
PRAVDA Carries Brandt Speech [1 Jul] G 1
Brandt Press Conference G 2
DPA Report G 4
Brandt, Brezhnev Interview [Hamburg ARD TV] G 4
Brezhnev, Sees Brandt Off G 5
Serov Commentary G 5
FRG Papers on Brandt Visit G 6
Lord Carrington Arrives in Moscow on 5 Jul G 6

MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

Iranian Provincial Governor Killed on 6 July H 1
Majlis Approves Appointment of Foreign Minister H 1
Iranian Paper Reports on U.S. Complicity Cited H 1
Levchenko Sees CIA Hand in Tehran Bombing H 2
USSR, Iraq Sign Technology Transfer Contract H 2

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLITICAL & SOCIAL ADEVELOPMENTS

Leonid Brezhnev Leaves Moscow for 'Vacation' R 1
Text Of Soviet Law on Status of Foreigners R 1
[IZVESTIYA 25 Jun]
Zagladin Report [IZVESTIYA 25 Jun] R 7
Talyzin Speech [IZVESTIYA 25 Jun] R 9
Explanation of Law [NOVOYE VREMYA] R 13
KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Views Supreme Soviet Appeal [26 Jun] R 14

AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS

Radio Reports Agricultural Developments 1-4 July	T 1
1 July	T 1
2 July	T 1
3 July	T 2
4 July	T 3
Al'yev Addresses Azerbaijan Groups on Agriculture	T 4
Speech to Aktiv [BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 20 Jun]	T 4
Cotton Conference Held	T 4
IZVESTIYA Views Lithuanian Livestock Situation [Kasyukov, 18 Jun]	T 4

SOLTAN DISCUSSES BREZHNEV'S ARMS TALKS OFFER

LD021730 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] The Soviet Union has reaffirmed its readiness for talks on stopping the arms race. President Brezhnev stated this at a meeting here in Moscow with the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Willy Brandt. No practical action on the world scene is more urgent or serious, President Brezhnev underlined, than ending the arms race. The first step in this direction should be limiting the nuclear race in Europe. We are ready to negotiate the issue even tomorrow, President Brezhnev added. Our commentary has been prepared by Yuriy Soltan:

The Soviet leader gave priority to easing military tension in Europe. Little wonder--nuclear arms stocks in Europe are enormous. The forces of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty Organization stand face to face in Europe. It would seem utmost caution is required in building up arms in the continent. As the Washington administration has embarked on a course of confrontation with the socialist community, it hopes to change the military parity in Europe in its favor. This explains why Washington does not want to open any talks on restricting nuclear arms in Europe. It claims the Soviet Union holds a negative attitude and strives for military superiority on the European Continent.

But nothing can be further from the truth: In 1979 the Soviet Union proposed to the West three times that medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe should be negotiated. It said it was ready to reduce its military strength unilaterally if the West did not deploy more lethal weapons of this kind. But the United States and the other NATO countries declined the offer. A decision was adopted to base new generation American nuclear missiles in the Western countries. The Europeans agreed to the basing, given ratification by the United States of the Salt II treaty that was signed (?that) year, but no ratification followed. The treaty was pigeonholed, and talks on medium-range weaponry are yet to begin, through the United States' fault. There have been only contacts, a talk about when negotiations will begin.

Now what about the correlation of forces? Military experts have said time and again that the Soviet Union's nuclear armaments in Europe are below the level of NATO's nuclear means that can reach the Soviet Union. NATO's medium-range delivery vehicles in Europe already can carry some 50 percent more nuclear charges than the corresponding vehicles that the Soviet Union possesses. Nevertheless President Leonid Brezhnev says the Soviet Union is ready to halt the deployment of medium-range missiles in the European part of the country the day the talks begin provided, of course, the United States will not during the talks build up its medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Now, isn't this fresh evidence that the Soviet foreign policy of peace is consistent and purposeful? Security cannot be ensured in a nuclear age if a country stakes on winning the arms race. Security can be based only on the existing approximate equality of the opposing forces with a subsequent reduction of their level through talks, and the Soviet Union holds this view.

SHISHKIN COMMENTARY ON 'U.S. IMPERIALISM'

LD031422 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0445 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Gennadiy Shishkin commentary entitled: "U.S. Imperailism--A Threat to the Peace and Security of Peoples" from the series entitled: "Topical Problems of International Life"]

[Text] Hello comrades! The USSR Supreme Soviet appeal to the world's parliaments and peoples has sounded a worldwide alarm--peace is the common heritage of mankind, and in our time peace is the primary condition for mankind's existence; it can only and must be preserved and reliably guaranteed by joint efforts. This passionate appeal for peace, for talks which have the aim of preventing a new twist in the nuclear arms race has been heard and perceived in the most distant corners of the world as a very important, constructive peace initiative from the Soviet Union. Support for this initiative is being expressed by many prominent state, public and religious leaders. Only official Washington is pretending that it is none of its affair.

Both the Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress are maintaining a stubborn silence, while a State Department spokesman, responding to a question from one of the correspondents, mumbled unintelligibly that he had no specific comments on the matter. Of course, it would be difficult to expect anything else from the Reagan administration. U.S. imperialism has now openly and challengingly taken charge of all bellicose-minded militaristic, circles. It is they who have developed an unprecedented arms race. It is they who are avoiding talks on restraining the process of rearmament, on eliminating hotbeds of conflicts and the peaceful resolution of disputed international problems.

Finally, it is they who are shamelessly encouraging acts of open aggression and international banditry on the part of their appointees, as was clearly demonstrated by the Israeli Air Force terrorist raid on the Iraqi nuclear research center. A real bacchanalia of senseless anticommunist and anti-Soviet statements and speeches at the highest official level reigns in the U.S. capital. To the accompaniment of these statements, fantastic programs of stepping up arms production are being developed or created. Their truly astronomic scale is such that even certain U.S. organs of the bourgeois press have had their breath taken away, as they say. They at times are frightened by the possible consequences of this adventurist course.

The well-known U.S. foreign policy weekly NEWSWEEK devoted a series of articles to this problem in one of its latest issues. They were printed under the label carried on the magazine's cover. "Reagan's Intensification of Military Power--Is It Sensible? Can We Permit Ourselves This?" As far as the scale of the arms race now developed by the United States is concerned, the magazine simply did not have enough epithets; it called it colossal, unprecedented, far-reaching and not seen since the times of World War II and so forth. In fact, NEWSWEEK wrote that the Reagan government has developed the most far-reaching campaign to step up military might in the whole of America's post-war history, having put forward a 6-year program for a military budget increasing by 67 percent in real terms, with revisions for inflation. As we can see, the Reagan administration has gone far ahead, even by comparison with the Carter administration, which was the first to act as instigator of whipping up the arms race and set itself the task of increasing military expenditure by 3 percent per annum.

Why is all this being done? Or, as NEWSWEEK puts the question: Is there any sense in it? The present U.S. leadership is trying to show Americans that the game is worth the candle. The most highly placed representatives of the Reagan administration are vying with each other in eloquence, demonstrating how the United States can and should achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in the name of on the one hand eliminating the hateful system of socialism, and on the other, securing the narrow selfish interests of U.S. imperialism using force.

In order to substantiate this, let us listen to the words of U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger. On 22 June, the day when all the Soviet people remembered with pain and sorrow how 40 years ago fascist Germany launched its treacherous blow against our motherland, Weinberger was speaking on Wall Street to representatives of U.S. big business, persuading them to cough up the money for new arms. Since ancient times, he said, people have striven to extract the maximum benefit from the achievements of technology in order to gain the upper hand over their enemies. In many cases these efforts have been generously rewarded. Professor Morgenthau wrote: The fate of nations and civilizations has frequently been decided by the presence of superiority in military technology which the weaker side has been unable to compensate for by any other means. In support of this thesis, Weinberger referred to the fact that in the First Punic War, Rome ensured domination of the seas for itself by beating the Carthaginians in the battle of Mylae, off the shores of Sicily. The innovation thanks to which this was possible, Weinberger assures us, was the "corvus" a grappling hook on the ship's bows, which among other innovations helped the Romans to board enemy vessels and overcome the enemy troops. As we see, the current Pentagon chief is not set apart by great imagination; but as the current Washington administration presumptuously supposes, one needs neither that nor other (?clothing). It appears to them that it is sufficient just to don the toga of the ancient Roman emperors, invent a contemporary corvus, and world domination will be guaranteed for them. In such a case, this is just what Weinberger promised, very unambiguously, to his audience at the meeting in return for the $1.5 trillion which the Reagan administration intends to spend on the arms race.

There is no adventure upon which the Reagan team would not be ready to embark in the name of achieving its imperial ambitions and expansionist aspirations. The new-found contenders for world domination take heed of nothing. With the help of their Israeli apprentices and As-Sadat, betrayer of Arab interests, they are persistently preparing the ground for organizing a permanent U.S. military presence in the Near East. They have embarked on a dangerous military-political combination in Asia, having decided to supply arms to Beijing intending to make use of the frantic anti-Sovietism of the current Chinese leadership to the advantage of the United States in its global anti-Soviet strategy. These aims are also served by the plans to station new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Among all the other dangerous adventures of U.S. imperialism, this undertaking is probably more fraught with fatal danger for the whole of mankind than any other--and first and foremost, of course, for the European peoples. In their time, in December 1979, when the United States imposed the decision to deploy these missiles on its partners at the Brussels NATO Council session, they swore an oath that this decision was needed only in order to have successful talks with the Soviet Union on a significant reduction of nuclear arsenals.

These assurances were plain fraud; this is demonstrated by the actions of the United States better then by any words. For it is the Washington administration which began by burying the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the limitation of strategic arms, SALT II, signed in Vienna, and then began sabotaging in every way the start of talks on medium-range missiles. Here many loud statements are being made in Washington that before coming to the negotiating table they must upgrade armaments, since the Soviet Union, allegedly, is tilting the balance of nuclear arms in Europe to its advantage. But in fact the figures show implacably that the NATO countries already have in Europe one and half times as many nuclear warheads as the Soviet Union. Could anybody in Washington refute these figures, or even try to?

As far as medium-range vehicles for nuclear weapons are concerned, if we take everything relating to this into account, and do not arbitrarily leave some types out, then there remains an approximate equilibrium between NATO and the Soviet Union. It is not by chance that the Washington POST newspaper recently wrote that references to a lack of balance in medium-range missiles are not very convincing. For it is clear to all that when counting one must take into account not only ground-based, but all types of such weapons. To be classed among these vehicles, the paper recalled, are the British-U.S. submarines carrying missiles under the control of NATO commander in chief of forces in Europe, the British Vulcan bombers and the U.S. F-111 bombers based in Britain, and also U.S. military aircraft in the Mediterranean. In light of what has been said, it is clear that the fuss over nonparity in Europe is merely a propaganda cover for the course adopted by Washington of intensifying confrontation with the Soviet Union, of achieving one-sided military advantages. It is for the sake of this that the United States is literally twisting the arms of its allies and placating them with vague promises about talks with the Soviet Union. In fact, Washington is firmly adhering to the line of implementing, at whatever price, its plans to station new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. It is this to which priority is given, and not to the talks.

The question arises: Why such insistence? What does the Pentagon hope to gain by deploying its new missiles in Europe? The answer to these questions is provided by an analysis of the character of the new U.S. nuclear missile weaponry. The Pershing II and cruise missiles which we are talking about have a flight range of 2,500 km, and although they are not formally considered as medium-range missiles, from our point of view they are strategic weapons. For, being based in Western Europe, they can strike the territory of the Soviet Union, while the time in flight, compared with strategic missiles sited on U.S. territory, is reduced from 25-30 minutes to four or five minutes.

From all that has been said it is completely clear that the new U.S. medium-range missiles are designed as an offensive weapon, as a means to first strike, that is, a preemptive blow.

To put it briefly, this is just what Secretary of Defense Weinberger was talking about to the U.S. businessmen, a kind of new grappling iron with the aim of gaining a one-sided advantage. It is not for nothing that Americans are at the moment having it drummed into their heads that a limited nuclear war is possible and even desirable. The Pentagon apologies for strategists hope that once this weaponry has been used on European territory and the element of surprise has been ensured, the United States will be able to limit a nuclear conflict to the European theater of military operations, and the fact that Western Europe would be doomed to annihilation through this is of little concern to them.

The near-sightedness and criminal unjustifiability of these calculations is obvious. In the case of a nuclear conflict being unleashed, the United States cannot count on being on the sidelines. In our times, the USSR Supreme Soviet appeal says, all those who by their actions encourage the arms race and still further stockpiling in the world of means for mass annihilation of people, those who champion the use of force in resolving disputed issues between states, or who simply turn a blind eye to the danger lying in wait for the world today are in practice urging mankind toward the abyss. It is on this basis that the new Soviet peace initiative has met with the broadest of responses throughout the world, and the firm words of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev have met with ardent approval: There is only one conclusion to be drawn from this--now, today, everything possible must be done to bar the path for those who want unlimited armaments and military adventures.

REPORTAGE ON THE 35TH CEMA SESSION IN SOFIA

Tikhonov Speech Cited

LD021448 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] The 35th CEMA session opened in Sofia today.

Taking part in the work of the session are delegations of CEMA member-countries, led by Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic; Vo Nguyen Giap, vice premier of the SRV Government; Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Rodriguez, deputy chairman of the Council of Mininsters of the Republic of Cuba; Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic; Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union; and Strougal, chairman of the Government of Czechoslovakia.

Under the agreement between CEMA and the Government of Yugoslavia, a delegation from the SFRY led by Dragan, deputy chairman of the Federal Executive Council, is taking part in the session.

Taking part in the work of the session as observers are delegations from the People's Republic of Angola, Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mozambique and socialist Ethiopia.

The session was opened by Comrade Filipov, who warmly welcomed the participants. Then the session started by examining the questions set out in the agenda.

A speech was delivered at the session by Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The past years, he said, have shown most vividly that the road we embarked upon 10 years ago with the adoption of the all-round program[illegible] socialist economic integraton, was a correct and fruitful road. It meets the fundamental interests of our countries and peoples.

Using the advantages of the socialist system, on the basis of our own efforts and relying on mutual cooperation, our countries have increased their economic and scientific-technical potential, during the seventies almost doubling the developed capitalist states' rate of growth of output and national income.

In the CEMA member-countries as a whole, national income rose during the decade by 66 percent. The volume of overall industrial output rose by 84 percent.

The mighty economic and scientific-technical potential of the CEMA member-countries and the development of all-round cooperation between them ensured the further growth of the peoples' material and cultural living standards.

The successes achieved in the past decade by the countries of the socialist community, Comrade Tikhonov stressed, are the result of the selfless labor of the peoples of those countries.

They are inseparably linked with the growth of the leading role of the communist and workers parties, which creatively apply the general laws governing the building of socialism in the particular specific conditions of their countries.

As a result of the growth of the economic might of our community and the active peace-loving foreign policy of the communist and workers parties, the further strengthening of the positions of the socialist countries in the world arena has been ensured. The main achievement of our fraternal parties and the countries of the socialist community is the successful preservation of world peace.

In the eyes of all mankind socialism acts as the principal force resisting the intrigues of imperialism, which is seeking to wreck the cause of detente and mankind's onward movement along the road of social progress.

The new Soviet foreign policy initiatives put forward by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress have met with a wide response in the world. They are aimed at defending peace and at preserving and multiplying everything positive brought about by detente in the seventies.

Quite recently the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted an appeal to the parliaments and peoples of the world which expresses the unflinching striving of the Soviet people toward a stable peace on earth.

A profound analysis of the results of the past decade was given at the congresses of the communist and workers parties of the fraternal countries.

The decisions of the congresses supplied the peoples of our community with a scientific program for creative labor and the strengthening of peace and set out prospects for the forthcoming 5 or 10 years.

The experience of our cooperation confirms, Comrade Tikhonov went on, that there are no questions of economic development which we cannot jointly resolve.

Against the background of the unstable crisis condition of the world capitalist economy, the fundamental advantages of socialism, the international relations of a new type and socialist economic integration can be seen especially distinctly.

We can say outright: Only through our cohesion, our fraternal, mutual advantageous cooperation, have we succeeded to a considerable extent in weakening the unfavorable influence of the world capitalist market.

The dynamic development of the economy of the countries of the community has provided us with material resources on an unparalleled scale. Although the population of the community countries is only one-tenth of the world population, the production of electricity, oil, steel and coal in the CEMA countries comprises 20-30 percent of the world. This is a success of our socialist system of economic management. But behind it are also enormous labor and quite a few losses. The congresses of fraternal parties have outlined for the coming years a new strategy of growth. Our main aim is to obtain an increase of labor and material resources. In Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's report to the 26th congress of our party this task was expressed in the wide-ranging formula which reached the hearts of all Soviet working people: "The economy should be economical." Similar aims were also set by other fraternal countries. Some of them have achieved notable successes in this sphere. The start of such work has been laid: However, we still have much to do.

The CEMA countries, Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov said in conclusion, have entered the new decade confident of the indisputable advantages of the socialist system, and the new type of international relations. They have the possibility of successfully implementing the programs set out by fraternal parties for socioeconomic development. A guarantee of further successes is the increasingly deepening cooperation in all spheres of public life, and their unswervingly strengthening unity and cohesion.

Those taking part in the meeting visited the mausoleum of that outstanding figure of the international communist and workers movement and great son of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov, and placed a wreath.

Second Day's Session

LD031510 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 3 Jul 81

["CEMA Session: Second Day"--TASS headline]

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jul, TASS--The 35th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is in its second day in the capital of Bulgaria.

The heads of government of the socialist countries, speaking at the session, stress that the economic indicators attained by the CEMA members in the past five years attest to the dynamic development of the socialist economy. The most general indicator of economic growth is the volume of the produced national income. It grew by 22 percent in the past five years in the CEMA countries on the whole. The volume of capital investments, which are the basis of increasing the economic might, increased by 17 percent.

It was pointed out at the session that the national income of the CEMA countries on the whole increased by 66 percent over ten years--between 1970 and 1980. The rates of its growth are almost twice as high as those in the capitalist countries. The gross industrial output increased in the seventies by 84 percent. The positions of the CEMA member-states in the world economy have become considerably stronger. They now account for nearly a third of world industrial production. The gross agricultural output increased by 15 percent over ten years despite the adverse weather conditions recurring for a number of years.

The fruitfulness of the joint efforts is symbolized by such large industrial projects of the CEMA as the Soyuz gas pipeline, Kiyembayev asbestos plant, electric power transmission line Vinnitsa (USSR)-Albertirs (Hungary), construction of the Khmelnitskiy atomic power plant in the Soviet Union, nickel plants in Cuba and other joint projects. The Intercosmos program is being successfully implemented.

The participants in the session today discussed the results of the coordination of the national economic plans of the CEMA member-states for 1981-1985 and the draft plan of multilateral integration measures for the five-year period. The heads of government of the CEMA countries favoured the further development of international specialisation and coproduction. Attention was given to the fact that the reduction of extensive growth factors and worsening of the world economic conjuncture dictate the need for the fullest possible use of the capacity of each country and advantages of socialist integration.

A session of the editorial commission was held in the afternoon. It examined draft documents of the session.

The CEMA session is continuing its work.

Session Ends

LD041538 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul, TASS--The 35th meeting of the session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance closed here. It was held at heads of government level.

The session discussed the progress of implementing the CEMA comprehensive programme in the past decade, tasks of deepening cooperation for the eighties and the results of the council's work between the two meetings of the session.

The session approved a coordinated plan of multilateral integration measures for 1981-1985. This document envisages a further development of specialization and coproduction, joint construction of economic projects, cooperation in resolving problems of science and engineering, and standardization. The coordinated plan also includes measures designed to develop the economies of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia.

The session adopted a communique which will be published in the press.

It was decided that the CEMA session will hold its next meeting in Budapest in 1982.

The participants in the session agreed to start the production in the next five-year period of machines for strip mining, for building gas trunk pipelines and of other equipment on the basis of cooperation.

Among the sessions's recommendations is the proposal for expanding cooperation in production and increasing the reciprocal deliveries of food and manufactured consumer goods. This aim will be served, in particular, by multilateral general agreements on an all-round development of sugar and citrus production in Cuba, signed in Sofia. Their implementation will make it possible to strengthen the republic's export potential and meet fuller the requirements of the European CEMA member-countries.

The heads of the delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia signed an inter-governmental agreement envisaging the establishment of a joint unified electronic element base for radioelectronic equipment, communication facilities and computing machinery.

Press Conference Held

LD051355 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul, TASS--Nikolay Faddeyev, secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, has characterised the fact that the 35th CEMA session in Sofia has followed the regular congresses of the communist and worker's parties in the fraternal socialist countries as a major aspect of the session's proceedings. Speaking at a press conference today, he has said that the decisions taken by the congresses are programs of peace and social progress.

The speeches of the leaders of national delegations at the session, the CEMA secretary stressed, have laid emphasis on the outstanding importance of the appeal to the parliaments and peoples of the world that was recently adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The session has pointed out that the community of the CEMA countries was and remains a major factor in safeguarding and strengthening peace. The CEMA member countries resolutely oppose the arms race unleashed by the imperialists and the escalation of tensions and advocate peaceful cooperation among the countries of all continents and the right of every nation to decide its destiny independently, without any outside interference.

The participants in the session have been unanimous that the CEMA's comprehensive program, a document of strategic importance, is on the whole being implemented successfully. The ever better interlinking of the economies, science and technology of the CEMA countries is being achieved on the basis of the goals, principles, forms and methods of cooperation defined in it.

The implementation of the comprehensive program drafted under the leadership of the communist and workers' parties and governments of the CEMA countries has made it possible to raise cooperation to a new, qualitatively higher level and to achieve remarkable successes both in the socioeconomic development of individual countries and in furthering the cohesion and strength of the socialist community, Nikolay Faddeyev has pointed out. He has stressed that economic progress has made it possible to substantially improve the material and cultural living standards of the peoples of the CEMA countries.

The session has taken major decisions and outlined practical steps to implement the economic strategy defined by the recent congresses of the CEMA countries' communist and workers' parties. They will have a tangible effect on the development of cooperation and integration during the 1980's. Under the present-day conditions economic integration is to ensure closer interaction between the economies of the CEMA countries, Nikolay Faddeyev has said.

The session stressed, the CEMA secretary has pointed out, that the problems of the CEMA countries' economic cooperation should be tackled effectively not only through coordinating the five-year economic development plans but also by concerting economic policies for a longer term, namely for 10 to 15 years. Our countries are unanimous in their desire to turn the current and forthcoming five-year periods into a period of production and scientific and technical cooperation.

Nikolay Faddeyev has stressed that the session passed in an atmosphere of friendliness and mutual understanding and was keynoted by businesslike and comradely attitudes.

WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE'

LD060004 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0845 GMT 5 Jul 81

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Yepifanovich Demchenko, member of the PRAVDA Editorial Board; Vladimir Borisovich Lomeyko, political observer for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA; and Gennadiy Mikhaylovich Ariyevich, commentator for the International Affairs Section of the all-union radio--live]

[Text] [Ariyevich] Good day dear comrades. In the troubled times our world is experiencing, the calm and wise voice of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries--ever putting forward new initiatives designed to avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and preserve peace on earth--is particularly influential. The growth in the influence, authority and might of the socialist countries is increasingly becoming more and more one of the most important factors in continuing the process of detente and securing people's right to life. The fraternal socialist countries are moving with confident strides along the path to solve the complex tasks of socioeconomic development and are achieving more and more successes in building a new life.

Prospects for further deepening and improving reciprocal and fruitful cooperation in the common interest were outlined by the participants of the 35th CEMA session which has just been held in the Bulgarian capital of Sofia. The session's agenda included matters concerning the implementation of an integrated program of socialist economic integration and tasks for the 1980's, especially the further improvement of scientific-technical cooperation.

CEMA Session

[Lomeyko] Speaking at the CEMA session, Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov noted that in implementing an integrated program of socialist integration, the countries of the socialist community have increased their economic and scientific-technical potential. Since 1971, that is since the time the integrated program was adopted, the reciprocal trade turnover of the CEMA countries increased almost 3.5 times. Soviet oil deliveries to other countries in the socialist community doubled, while gas deliveries increased fivefold. The overall national income for the CEMA member-countries increased by 66 percent over the decade and the volume of gross industrial production grew by 84 percent. Naturally, this promoted the further raising of both the material and cultural standard of living for the peoples of the socialist countries.

[Ariyevich] At the same time, I would like to draw your attention to the following. Bourgeois propaganda could not, of course, avoid mentioning an event as important as the CEMA session at heads of governments level. But in describing it, Western observers strived to give a false impression to their readers and listeners. There was no shortage of discourse about a slump, and even a crisis, in the socialist economy, as well as about the fact that Poland had, as they say, become an example of the weakness of the socialist economy.

In this connection, I think that, the best thing to do would be to quote some data for comparison; then everything will immediately fall into place. The UN Secretariat has has published a review of the world economic situation. Here is the conclusion of this review. The capitalist world has entered a new economic slump. The document says that its main symptoms, are growing unemployment and inflation. Thus, there are currently more than 20 million unemployed in the capitalist world. On the other hand, there are the figures quoted at the CEMA session in Sofia. During the 1970's the socialist countries' rates of growth in production and national income were almost double that of the developed capitalist states. Despite the fact that one-tenth of the world's population lives in the CEMA countries, their share of world production of electricity, oil, steel and coal comprises 20-30 percent. The CEMA countries produce 1.4 times more electricity, extract 2.7 times more coal and smelt 1.6 times more steel than the Common Market members. This list could be continued.

[Demchenko] As far as Poland is concerned, there is an obvious and deliberate distortion here too. Of course, economic difficulties and a slump in production exist there. But, you see, this is not the result of the development of a socialist economy, as the enemies of socialism try to present it, but precisely the contrary--the result of departure from socialist principles, the result of the harmful activities of antisocialist forces creating anarchy and striving to undermine the foundations of the socialist state.

[Ariyevich] I think it is also important to stress that we are still far from presenting the contemporary socialist world only in bright colors. There are also difficulties in the development of our countries. The changeover to intensive development of the economy, implementation of large-scale social programs, molding of a communist consciousness--as Leonid Ilich Brezhnev noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, these things do not come at once. We need both time and tireless creative quests. Problems arising in the course of cooperation are solved jointly. There is a search for the most correct methods of combining the interests of each of each of the fraternal countries with our common interests.

This concerns, for example the establishment of reduced prices for oil, gas and other raw materials and industrial goods, which the CEMA member-countries supply to one another. Thanks to mutually advantageous cooperation, it has been possible to considerably weaken the unfavorable influence of the world capitalist market. In 1980, the CEMA member-countries satisfied the main part of their import needs through reciprocal supplies of goods. Yes, the last few years have not been the most fortunate for the national economy of a number of socialist countries. However, it is still a fact that the CEMA members have remained the most dynamically developing group of countries in the world.

[Lomeyko] Now a new program has been worked out for setting up of international production complexes which have no equal in the world for scale and technical level. As was shown by the CEMA session, the countries of the socialist community mutually enrich each other with the experience of their construction. The successes of one country multiplied by the successes of another together create a qualitatively new potential for development, which in my view will ensure an important phenomenon throughout the world--a further change of forces in favor of the forces of peace and socialism and in favor of the forces of the socialist community.

[Ariyevich] Incidentally, the session also noted a strengthening of the positions of the socialist countries in the world arena. In the eyes of all of mankind, socialism is acting as the main force opposing the intrigues of imperialism. The main gain of the fraternal countries, as was also noted at the session, is the fact that peace has been successfully preserved on earth.

Peace Proposals, Brandt Visit

[Lomeyko] Future historians will certainly note the continuous and consistent nature of the socialist countries' efforts to defend peace and to avert the threat of a new war. The world has not known for a long time such a powerful and lengthy peace offensive as is now being displayed by the Soviet Union. In effect, starting from the 26th CPSU Congress, where a peace program for the eighties was put forward, literally not a week has passed without Moscow putting forward fresh peace initiatives. The USSR Supreme Soviet's appeal to the world's parliaments and peoples has met with a big international response. It calls upon the governments and political parties, public organizations and parliaments of different countries now at the present time to do everything to bar the way to those fond of unlimited armaments and military adventures.

[Ariyevich] Incidentally, Vladimir Borisovich, I should like to emphasize that only a week has elapsed since the adoption of the appeal and the Soviet Union has already come out with a fresh initiative. In an interview with SUOMEN SOSIALIDEMOKRAATI Leonid Ilich Brezhnev put forward a number of proposals which have provided a fresh impetus for the debate on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe.

[Lomeyko] And after all, Gennadiy Mihaylovich, this problem is one of the most topical for Finland, Norway, Sweden and other countries. At the start of the sixties the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe was put forward by President Kekkonen of Finland. Since then support for this proposal has been expressed by many state and political figures and public organizations in the countries of that region. However, under pressure from NATO and above all Washington this idea is in every way being discredited as undermining the northern flank of the Atlantic bloc, and in this occasion, naturally, the position of the Soviet Union is being distorted in the Western propaganda media. This is why the clarification given on this score by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev has played an important role in the debate which is underway on the question of creating a zone free of nuclear weapons in northern Europe. Here I should like to note above all two points. First, the Soviet Union has reaffirmed its pledge not to use nuclear weapons against those countries in northern Europe which renounce the production, acquisition and stationing on their territory of nuclear weapons. Second, Comrade Brezhnev noted that the Soviet Union is ready to consider the question too, of certain other measures applying to our own territory in the area adjoining a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. This same issue was mentioned with great interest by Willy Brandt, too, during his visit to Moscow.

[Ariyevich] It must be noted that Willy Brandt's talks with Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders attracted great attention throughout the world. What is your opinion, Vladimir Borisovich? How can one explain this reaction? And how can one appraise the results of the talks?

[Lomeyko] Well, first of all it should be noted that the very fact of the talks and the speech by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev in which he put forward a number of important considerations concerning the problems of military detente should also be regarded in the light of the Soviet Union's consistent and constructive efforts to strengthen peace and international security, about which we have precisely been speaking.

The world public's interest in these talks is quite natural. After all, Willy Brandt is one of the architects of the Eastern policy of detente in Soviet-West German relations. If one takes into consideration the fact that at the present time he is the chairman both of the German Social Democratic Party and the Socialist International and in that capacity plays an active role in drawing up a political line, the lively interest in his talks in Moscow is understandable. If one were to attempt in a single word to define the results of his visit, then they were undoubtedly positive. I had occasion to converse with many West German journalists and diplomats during Brandt's visit to Moscow. The overwhelming majority of them see the indisputable importance of the meeting in the fact that it has shown that both sides are convinced of the need for a dialogue and efforts in support of peace and to restrain the arms race.

[Ariyevich] Soviet peace initiatives accord not only with the interests of the socialist countries but also with the interests of peaceloving forces throughout the world. It is not fortuitous that support for them is being expressed by millions of people in West Europe, where the movement of protest against the nuclear race is becoming broader. It is well-known that the number of people in the FRG to have signed the Krefeld appeal against the deployment of new American missiles has passed the 1 million mark.

[Lomeyko] Participants in the peace March are travelling along the roads of Denmark, Britain, the FRG and other countries in West Europe. People have left all their affairs and many are using their holidays to vigorously express their protest against the arms race. Surely this is clear proof of the fact that this movement really involves the people's interests. Under the pressure of mounting resistance by the West European public, Washington is involuntarily and with clenched teeth agreeing to begin talks with the USSR in the foreseeable future. But this agreement reeks of insincerity a mile off.

Near East, U.S. Policies

[Ariyevich] At the present time, the international public is very alarmed by the fact that of late the Americans have noticably stepped up pressure on their allies. This is manifested both in demands for increased military expenditure and in high-handed interference in their internal affairs. An instance of the latter has been the gross statement about the participation of communists in the French Government and the striving to involve European allies in risky adventures in other regions, in particular in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf area.

[Lomeyko] Yes, that is so. That is what U.S. strategy for the near future looks like, a strategy of whipping up tension in Europe and in other continents.

[Ariyevich] Pavel Yepifanovich has already pointed out that Washington is increasing pressure on its allies, trying to draw them into its policy in the Middle East. Last week, the United States, Israel and Egypt reached agreement on the creation of so-called multinational forces in the Sinai. According to the plan of the accord's signatories, in the future they are to replace the Israeli forces now there. And these forces are not to be made up of U.S. troops alone, although they will constitute the backbone, but military detachments from a number of other countries as well.

[Demchenko] Yes, it has been announced that one-half of these forces will be U.S. military personnel, and the other half will be representatives of Washington's allies. The overall command, according to the agreement, will also be carried out by U.S. representatives. Although the numbers of these forces seem to be relatively small, only 2,500 men, one should not forget that they are being added to those naval and landing forces already in the eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf areas. We are therefore talking about a new intensification of U.S. activity in one of the most explosive regions on earth. And, at the same time, the United States would like to hide behind others' backs. But so far, as is well-known, they have only received support from Egypt and Israel.

[Ariyevich] As one Israeli newspaper HA'OLAM HAZE, wrote recently, at the moment Israel is acting like a subcontractor for Washington's policies. The rulers of Israel are literally offering the services of the Israeli Army as a force for fighting for U.S. interests. In return, they get arms and financial help.

[Demchenko] This week, on 30 June, parliamentary elections were held in Israel, during which the two main contending groups, the Likud and Ma'arakh won roughly the same number of seats. But perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the present election is the climate in which they took place. During May and June, there was a definite upsurge of Israeli aggression in the Middle East. There were several major strikes at Palestinian camps in Lebanon, even in the neighborhood of Beirut; attacks on the Syrians, which destroyed two Syrian helicopters; and finally, the bombing of the nuclear center near Baghdad, about 600-700 km from Israel itself.

In a word, Israel behaved like a true gendarme in the Middle East. And here is another point which is interesting, after every such banditlike act there has always followed a raucous statement from Prime Minister Begin, declaring that he would not stop at that and that he was ready to issue instructions for new operations against the Arabs. As a result, his shares rose during the election campaign, from the lowest level in March, when the polls gave him only 14 percent of the electorate's votes, to more than 40 percent on the eve of the elections themselves. As a result, he got 48 seats in the Knesset, from a total number of 120. Incidentally, the competing group, Ma'arakh, got 49 seats.

[Lomeyko] But here also we are faced with the question of so-called Western democracy, which is represented in the present case by Israel. Here, for the sake of his own interests in the elections, both personal and party, terrorist acts were carried out against a country, the attack on the nuclear research center in Baghdad. It was undertaken with the idea of increasing his own authority among extremist elements in the Israeli population.

[Demchenko] Historical experience convinces one that Israeli policy is to a significant extent an offshoot of U.S. policy. Washington's militarism increased and immediately a corresponding upsurge of Israeli aggresssion occurred, further exacerbating the already tense situation in the Middle East.

[Lomeyko] Yes, and we are, therefore, becoming witnesses of the Reagan administration's strategy of tension throughout the world, in particular in Iran.

[Demchenko] During the past few days, events in Iran have become truly dramatic. The country has again become the scene of a brutal political struggle. Last Sunday, at the building of the ruling party in Iran, the Islamic Republican Party [IRP], there was a powerful explosion. It happened when an important conference was taking place, attended by all the party leaders. As a result of the blast, 72 people died, including the chairman of the party, Beheshti, several ministers and 23 parliamentary deputies. The event aroused a great reaction in the country. In a large number of towns, many thousands of people took part in anti-American demonstrations. The prime minister of Iran, Raja'i, and the speaker of the parliament, Rafsanuani, stated that the explosion was planned by reactionary elements linked with the CIA. Other Iranian leaders put the blame for the killing of their companions on supporters of the ex-president of the republic, Bani-Sadr, whom they also accused of having links with U.S. intelligence.

[Ariyevich] But, Pavel Yepifanovich, I would, however, like to draw attention to those events which preceded the new wave of anti-Americanism in Iran. This will obviously give us the key to an understanding of current events. Above all, it is the clash of two elements in the country's leadership. One of these is the IRP, which embodies the Shi'ite clergy; the other represents the interests of various levels of the Iranian bourgeoisie; and the country's president, Bani-Sadr, as well as the head of the first republican government, Bazargan, became the expression of this bourgeois tendency.

[Demchenko] Yes, Gennadiy Mikhaylovich, it is true that during the last few months, between the leaders of the Islamic party--and they headed the government--and the supporters of the president of the republic, Bani-Sadr, there has been bitter clashes. The bourgeoisie blamed the clergy for destroying the economy, culture, and Iran's traditional foreign links in their subjugation of the hole of the people's life to the canons of Islam, which have become obsolete for the 20th century. For its part, the clergy blamed the group which had united around the president for wanting to subject the country to another bout of imperialism and farm it out to the United States.

[Ariyevich] Pavel Yepifanovich, do you think that there is any link between what is now happening in Iran and the conflict between Iran and Iraq? Is it reflected in current events?

[Demchenko] Yes, that is indeed the case. Bani-Sadr, as the supreme commander in chief on the army, tried to carry out two counteroffensives at the front. But they failed. He undermined his position as a result. The supporters of Raja'i and Beheshti demanded the president's resignation. He tried to group the officers around him and to organize demonstrations in various towns of the country. However, he encountered such opposition that first he lost the post of commander in chief, then, threatened by arrest and trial, he thought it better to go into hiding. Hundreds of his supporters were seized and many of them were executed. It seemed as though the Iranian [as heard] Republican Party had won the victory. But that was when the explosion occurred, about which we spoke earlier.

[Lomeyko] It seems to me that we are dealing with a very important phenonemon here, which will be revealed later on through new documents. But the evidence we already have entitles us to say that the conflict between Iran and Iraq came about not just because of the contradictions which indeed existed between the two countries. These contradictions were artifically and, I would say, very skillfully exploited by representatives of the ubiquitous Central Intelligence Agency. In other words, the conflict was provoked deliberately, in order, first, to weaken the countries of that region via useless and tragic combat with each other. This helped to intensify the contradictions within the anti-shah camp in Iran itself and led to bloody strife between supporters and opponents of Bani-Sadr. In this way, imperialism, kindling nationalist and religious contradictions, achieves its goals.

[Demchenko] One should add one more argument to this. The fact is that the Americans are now justifying the presence of their warships in the Persian Gulf area, in particular, by the war between Iraq and Iran.

[Lomeyko] Yes, they are claiming that they need to protect access to the oil in that region and the routes by which it is taken to Europe and the United States.

Views on China

[Ariyevich] So all this creates a very complex and multicolored mosaic of international affairs at the present time. Beijing, too, is striving to add a gloomy tint to it, together with imperialist reaction. During last week's talks in Colombo with the leaders of Sri Lanka, Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua called for mutual understanding, friendship and cooperation in Asia. That doesn't sound bad, does it? But those are only words. In practice, Beijing is making territorial claims on its neighbors, India and Vietnam, for example. It is crudely interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and Afghanistan. In other words, it is trying to dictate its conditions to other countries.

[Lomeyko] But to dictate its wishes to neighbors and to blackmail them, China needs brute force. That is precisely why the Beijing rulers are striving to turn China into a powerful militarist state with the help of certain Western countries.

[Ariyevich] The Chinese authorities published an extremely lengthy document the other day. Foreign news agencies are calling this document one of the results of work of the CCP Central Committee plenum which has just been held. It was published to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party. The anniversary fell on 1 July.

Among other things it assesses the political role of Mao Zedong in the life of China. The so-called Cultural Revolution is admitted to be a serious, leftist error and the main responsibility for it is placed on Mao. It is described as a departure from his own ideas and an obliteration of the borderline between truth and falsehood. It also mentions other mistakes by the helmsman in his last years. But in spite of all this, the greatest emphasis is still placed on his services. The mistakes are described, literally, as the mistakes of a great proletarian revolutionary. They were his tragedy. In other words, Mao Zedong's political theories will continue unchanged as the basis of the CCP's activities. They will remain as the guiding ideas of the party. Stakes are being placed on creation of a so-called Chinese model for social development on the basis of a modernization of Maoism.

The struggle for modernization of Maoism was also reflected at the latest CCP Central Committee Plenum. At the plenum, as you know, Hua Guofeng was released from the duties of chairman of the Central Committee and chairman of the CCP Central Committee Military Commission. Hu Yaobang has become the new chairman of the CCP Central Committee. Deng Xiaoping has taken the post of chairman of the Central Committee Military Commission.

But this reshuffle in the Beijing hierarchy was predicted long ago. The current plenum merely laid down who is who in today's China. Deng heads the grouping of so-called pragmatists, while Hua heads those who rose during the Cultural Revolution. However, political observers believe that although Deng has now managed to come out ahead of Hua, this will not lead to an end of the struggle for power in China. The Hua Guofeng group still has quite considerable support within the party and the army. After all, one-half of the almost 40 million CCP members joined during the years of the Cultural Revolution.

[Demchenko] For this reason, forecasts that there will be further exacerbation of political struggle in China are fully justified. Specialists on China are saying, in particular, that the post of chairman of the CCP Central Committee Military Commission provides Deng Xiaoping with great opportunities to eliminate his opponents in the army. Reports from Beijing that a military court sentenced 11 high-ranking officers to lengthy prison terms the other day are symptomatic in this respect.

[Ariyevich] The struggle for power is having a dire impact on the country's internal situation. The unstable internal political situation in China is also threatening to produce zigzags in Beijing's foreign policy, which justifies military methods, including world nuclear war, for the achievement of the Chinese rulers' hegemonist aims.

[Lomeyko] At this point, I would like to remind our listeners that back in 1979, when the United States normalized relations with China, the Soviet Union expressed its point of view. We are not against normalization of relations, but not on an an anti-Soviet basis. In the West at that time they hastened to declare that they did not intend to sell arms to China. But stage-by-stage, after lengthy negotiations, they have now agreed to supply China with various kinds of modern arms. And these supplies will be increased in the future. It should be clear to us that the attempt to turn China into a secret NATO member is dangerous for the cause of peace and for the West European states themselves, as well as for the Americans, because there is no knowing which way this future Gulliver will turn once it has flexed its military muscles.

[Ariyevich] In short, the reactionary and aggressive forces of the United States and NATO, with support and assistance from Beijing hegemonism, are currently doing their utmost to return the peoples to the dismal and evil era of the cold war. To counter balance these strivings, the countries of the socialist community, the world communist and workers' movement, the states which have cast off colonial oppression and all peaceloving forces are working actively to defend peace throughout the world and to further develop and consolidate detente.

At this point, we are concluding the program and saying farewell to you. Thank you for your attention. All the best.

'INTERNATIONAL SITUATION--QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS'

LD032250 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 3 Jun 81

["International Situation--Questions and Answers" program presented by Valeriy Kosovan, all-union radio commentator; with Oleg Nikolayevich Anichkin, international affairs journalist; and Anatoliy Andreyevich Krasikov, TASS political observer]

[Excerpts] Your letters, comrades, frequently refer us to various aspects of the foreign political activity of the U.S. administration. Sergey Yakovlevich Filippov from Leningrad, for instance, expresses concern at the growth of aggressiveness in Washington's policy. Comrade Filippov writes that the barefaced anticommunism of the Reagan administration, the striving to obtain military supremacy by any means, leads him to believe that the present leadership of the White House is one of the most reactionary. Ivan Alekseyevich Savelev from Moscow notes in this connection that such a course is provoking discussions among the West European partners of the United States and in the American press itself. We have already touched upon this question in connection with the 100 days of Ronald Reagan but, taking into account the interest of our listeners, we have again invited to the studio international affairs journalist Oleg Nikolayevich Anichkin, who will answer your questions.

So, Oleg Nikolayevich, what is the cause of the new discussion in the American and West European press?

U.S. Policies Questioned

[Anichkin] If we speak formally, then the reason, or so to speak, the pretext for the start of the wide critical, at times sharp, discussion of the present political actions of the White House and the State Department was the President's latest press conference which he held last week. This was his first appearance before journalists since 30 March, after the attempt of his life when he received a bullet wound. Outwardly he looked very confident, believing that he was ready to answer any question. The previous night he was carefully briefed; everything was rehearsed beforehand; but when correspondents began to ask questions concerning foreign policy problems then the President found himself out of his depth and, as one newspaper noted, gave the impression of being ill-informed and evasive. He was aksed what was maybe the main question: Why after 5 months since he arrived in the White House had Reagan not made one speech on U.S. foreign policy? In response to this he could find nothing better than to list the heads of foreign powers with whom he had recently held meetings.

[Kosovan] Oleg Nikolayevich, the policy of the White House is quite justifiably being described as aggressive and inconsistent. Here it seems to me that we should say above all that the foreign political actions of the administration are motivated mainly by ideological factors.

[Anichkin] We have already frequently stated that the point of departure for the new administration, and this is often now being recalled in Washington, is anticommunism. It is no accident that one American observer noted that the diplomatic process has recently been completely destroyed. George Kennan, one of the active supporters of the process for the limitation of strategic arms comparatively recently wrote with bitterness that in modern history, I quote, one can hardly find an example of such a rupture in political contacts and such a triumph in military suspicions as now characterizes Soviet-American relations.

[Kosovan] Oleg Nikolayevich, when we speak of the ideologization of the foreign policy of the American administration and its anticommunist direction, how is it possible to explain the deals between Washington and Beijing during the visit to China by Secretary of State Haig? What I have in mind is the U.S. decision to sell offensive weaponry to China.

[Anichkin] What we have here is an example of the, so to speak, political aberrations of American foreign policy. As you can see, I am using words that are now being employed in Washington.

The American administration has opted for rapprochement with Beijing against the Soviet Union despite the fact that American leaders have frequently declared communism to be anathema, and spoken of it as an anomally and such like. Judging by everything this does not apply to Beijing. This once more allows us to recall that American statesmen are not so strict in their principles, and that dual standards are a pretty frequent phenomenon in their political practice. The U.S. decision to let China have weapons, including offensive ones, and also to establish military cooperation between the two countries looks extremely short-sighted and dangerous. This is the fairly widespread opinion of political observers. The United States has set off along the path of arming a China whose leaders believe that the intensification of international tension and the emergence of a new war is almost a blessing. In connection with this THE LONDON TIMES wrote, I quote: Such a playing of the Chinese card is a highly risky enterprise. The relations between the West and China cannot serve as a substitute for our relations with the Soviet Union, nor as a means for improving them. The more so since all of this can lead to quite the opposite results. The newspaper of American business circles, the WALL STREET JOURNAL came to another general conclusion. It wrote: In many respects; Haig's 2-week trip to the Far East, including China, emphasized--I am citing again--the ideological [ideynyy] emptiness and the inconsistency of Reagan's foreign policy.

[Kosovan] Excuse me, Oleg Nikolayevich, our listener Bachkov from Novosibirsk notes in his letter that much is being said of the sharp and negative U.S. reaction to the inclusion in the French Government of representatives of the French Communist Party [PCF]. Isn't this also certain evidence of the ideological factor in American foreign policy?

[Anichkin] Quite right. This is my next example to confirm what I was saying at the beginning of the broadcast. As far as I can gather, this will be considered in detail by Anatoliy Andreyevich Krasikov, my colleague on this program. The threatening gestures of Washington, intended for the French, demonstrate not only its hypocrisy but once again the double standards. Very often American figures, at the highest level, love to hold forth in words on the freedom of choice, noninterference in the affairs of other countries and so forth, but in actual fact they wish to instruct everyone, to dictate to everyone and to force them to live according to their own code of conduct. They do not wish to take into consideration the fact that the world situation has changed, and that France, like other countries of West Europe, does not have to obtain the preliminary agreement of the United States to the composition of its government. All of Washington's maneuvers around the inclusion of PCF representatives in the new French Government are nothing but crude interference in France's internal affairs.

SALT Viewed

[Kosovan] Oleg Nikolayevich, I believe you have yet another argument as proof that the present criticism of the administration's foreign policy is not spontaneous in nature but has arisen quite naturally. I have in mind the American position on the question of strategic arms limitation.

[Anichkin] I believe there is no need to recall the position in which this process now finds itself, a process which can without exaggeration be said to be the heart of Soviet-American relations and, to a considerable degree, of international relations also. It is known that the ratification of the SALT II treaty has been frozen. Everyone was, of course, interested and is still interested in just what the new American leadership is after, besides the fact that they believe the SALT II treaty signed 2 years ago in Vienna is unacceptable. The more so since last year, during the election campaign, Reagan promised to start preparing immediately for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

Well, it has turned out that it is not quite like this at all, although many signals have been emanating from Washington that the United States is ready to hold talks. When the Senate Foreign Relations Committee discussed the affirmation of the candidacy of Eugene Rostow to the post of director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the future chief of this department stated without a shadow of embarrassment that the administration would at the best be ready for these talks in 9 months' time. That is, in March next year. The Senate committee was decidedly shocked when Eugene Rostow said that he did not know one man in the administration who knew what the Americans wanted to hold talks on.

Maybe someone here might have a bright idea, he said. The shaken chairman of the committee, Senator Charles Percy, just recalled that the administration had not kept its election promise and that unnecessary delays to the talks could produce a result contrary to that desired. Summing up the hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the New York TIMES noted, I quote: The appearance of Rostow did not give observers any new ideas of prospects and reflected deep opposition to talks on controlling arms.

[Kosovan] Yes, this is put quite clearly. Oleg Nikolayevich, it would be interesting to hear the statements of American observers, providing a general evaluation of the present policy of the White House.

[Anichkin] I will cite just some, but sufficiently strong, statements by well-known political observers James Reston and Joseph Kraft, who until recently regarded the new administration and President Reagan favorably. They and other observers coincide in their opinion that Reagan's foreign policy begins and ends with the idee fixe of the Soviet threat. But is it necessary to agree with the thought that it is precisely the Russians who are the source of all American problems? As Kraft writes: Reagan has demonstrated ignorance on a number of questions of foreign policy, which has pushed to the rear critically important decisions on such problems as controlling arms and the Near East. Now few people, Reston writes, believe that the President, I am citing him here, has a clear idea of the problems facing the country in the conditions of a changing world. If the administration continues to behave provocatively with regard to the Soviet Union then a threat will arise to universal peace. And he notes further that the incorrect course that has been adopted by the administration in the sphere of foreign policy will obviously lead to the possibility of the storm breaking soon. Those are the views of American political observers on the foreign policy of the Reagan administration.

[Kosovan] Thank you, Oleg Nikolayevich.

Events in China

The situation in China continues to be complicated. Social and political tension in China is not diminishing; ideological disorder in society is growing. The general situation is characterized by chronic economic and political instability. The Chinese people are, as before, experiencing serious difficulties: The main reason for all this is the fact that in the country the regime remains based on Maoist foundations. The unresolved social and economic problems are growing even worse because internal political struggles among the Beijing leadership do not cease.

Many foreign observers, taking this into account, believed that the Sixth CCP Central Committee Plenum could clear up certain issues of China's internal political life. They have, incidentally, been waiting quite a long time for the plenum. At first it was planned for the end of last year. However, instead of the CCP Central Committee plenum the so-called working conference met at the time in Beijing.

It was the faction of Deng Xiaoping, leader of rightwing pragmatists' group, which set the tone at the conference. It was able to force through decisions necessary to the faction at the working conference, in particular the decision that Hua Guofeng should resign from the post of chairman of the CCP Central Committee, and Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CCP Central Committee and one of Deng Xiaoping's closest adherents, has been nominated in his place. Also by the decision of the same working conference Hua Guofeng lost the post of chairman of the CCP Central Committee Military Council, which was given to Deng Xiaoping himself. It is very indicative that, although the working conference is not competent to decide questions of changes in the Chinese Government, reports are current in China to the effect that the days of Hua Guofeng's political career are numbered.

The date set for convening the Sixth CCP Central Committee Plenum was also postponed several times. It only took place 6 months after the date which was originally set. It was also preceded by a preparatory conference which went on three times longer than the plenum itself. This once again confirms how critical and tense the struggles behind the scenes in the CCP's upper strata were.

The plenum confirmed the decision on changes in the cadres, which were adopted at the working conference in December last year. Hu Yaobang was elected as the new chairman of the CCP Central Committee. He is 66 years old and has been a member of the CCP since 1933. Before the PRC was formed, he was engaged in party work in the army. At the beginning of the fifties he was doing Komsomol work; he was chief of the Chinese Komsomol until the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, during which he was subjected to repression. After the gang of four were removed from power he was rehabilitated and was nominated to the apparatus of the CCP Central Committee. Last year at the fifth plenum he was elected general secretary of the CCP Central Committee.

The rise of Hu Yaobang is direct evidence of the strengthening position of the Deng Xiaoping faction in the Chinese leadership. The leading role of this group was strengthened in connection with Deng Xiaoping's accession to post of chairman of the CCP Central Committee Military Council. The leader of the rightwing pragmatists thus gained important levers of power, which he will probably use to take control of the army, where there are still quite a few opponents of his policy. Beijing propaganda is now presenting the decision on the new leadership by the Sixth CCP Central Committee plenum as an achievement of stable unity. However, this is essentially merely the result of blatant compromise between the warring groups. Deng Xiaoping and his supporters did not succeed in removing the so-called offspring of the Cultural Revolution, of which Hua Guofeng is a typical representative. By all accounts, the faction of rightwing pragmatists is content for some time to smooth out its frictions with representatives of the military group. And in this connection, we must presume that Deng Xiaoping was helped by Washington, which decided to sell to China up-to-date offensive weapons. Washington very unambiguously supported Deng's group, trying to lessen the dissatisfaction of the military with his pro-imperialist course. It cannot be doubted either that the decision dictated by the Sixth CCP Central Committee Plenum on certain questions of the CCP's history since the formation of the PRC is an obvious compromise. In essence it amounts to a defense of Mao Zedong and a restoration of Maoism. Ignoring the instructive, tragic lessons of the past, the CCP leadership has stated that only Mao's ideas can save the situation. To support this stance, the CCP's history is being falsified. It is affirmed that only Mao and his ideas have indicated the right path and that without them the Chinese people would presumably have lost their way in the dark. Evidently, Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders are by no means bothered by the fact that they are refuting their own recent statements to the effect that the mistaken line taken by Mao brought untold suffering to the Chinese people and that the country on account of the Cultural Revolution initiated by Mao Zedong lost at least 20 years.

It is also characteristic that, while partially acknowledging Mao Zedong's mistakes in the latter part of his life, the CCP leadership is trying in every way to conceal the anti-Marxist, antisocialist, and antipopular nature of the ideological political heritage of Mao Zedong as a whole. Moreover, in order to play down the guilt of the late helmsman, they are trying to transfer Mao's mistakes onto the whole party.

All this, in the final analysis, leads us to believe that the Chinese leadership is trying to find a way out of a difficult position, which has arisen in the country, by staying with the general stance of Maoism. It attaches itself in every way possible to Maoist directions on specific issues in various spheres. It is trying to fit the changes brought about by the rightwing nationalist course of the Deng Xiaoping group to the procrustean bed of Maoism. But surely it must be clear that it is this very well trodden rut of Maoism which has led China onto the path of the gravest disaster and suffering which the people of this country are experiencing to this very day.

French Events Discussed

[Kosovan] Anatoliy Andreyevich, it has been reported in the press, and we also mentioned at the beginning of the program, that the creation of the new French Government with communist participation provoked a nervous reaction from Washington.

[Krasikov] Yes, it could be said that a real scandal erupted. The very day after the composition of the government was announced, when it became known that it would include, among other ministers, four communist ministers, U.S. Vice President George Bush arrived in Paris.

His visit had been planned in advance, and at first it was believed that it would be devoted to a quite specific theme: The preparations for a future summit meeting of the leaders of the industrially-developed capitalist countries.

But, as we know, things turned out differently. As soon as he reached the airport, Bush said that he would discuss with President Mitterrand, as he put it, the composition and direction to be followed by the new French Government. Having arrived at the Elysee Palace, the residence of the head of the French state, Bush had a long talk with Mitterrand and then, when he came out onto the steps after this talk, he said literally the following to journalists: The U.S. position on the question of communist participation in the governments of our allies is well known, and thus we are alarmed.

This was the first open expression of interference in affairs which, to put it mildly, were none of his business. President Mitterrand, to whom the journalists then turned for his reaction, felt it incumbent on him to explain: France's policy is France's policy, and so it will remain. What he said clearly implies: Keep out of our affairs, we will take care of French policy ourselves. But as we know, this was not the end of the affair. Without even waiting for the vice president's departure, the U.S. State Department published a statement, which said--no more, no less--that the entry of communists into the French Government will inevitably alter the tone and content of Franco-American relations.

[Kosovan] Anatoliy Andreyevich, it was this communique apparently which aroused a storm of passions.

[Krasikov] Yes, and what a storm! The French minister for foreign affairs called it "unacceptable and astonishing, to say the least." Other representatives of the French Government expressed themselves in similar terms, and not only leftwingers either, but also many representatives of the opposite camp. The camp of the former government; they were also indignant. For instance, Pierre Messmer, a Gaullist and a former prime minister, called the State Department document "completely unacceptable." As for President Mitterrand, he expressed his indignation in these words: "The Americans' reaction is their business. I am the one who makes the decisions in France, and the more freely we make our decisions, the more we will be respected." Later, in an interview for the Paris evening paper LE MONDE, Mitterrand returned to the question of American interference in France's affairs, and he said frankly that the publication of the State Department statement was the beginning of intense pressure by the United States on France. In this same interview, by the way, Mitterrand also referred to such aspects of Washington's policies which cannot fail to alarm France, like the other countries of West Europe, as the fierce economic war being waged from across the ocean against France and the other West European countries. He said that massed attacks on the French economy are continuing, with the aim of undermining its positions.

The point is that in the last 4 months France has lost more than $10 billion in its foreign currency reserves owing to increased tariffs which the American administration has imposed virtually from above and unilaterally; and this economic war which the United States is waging against France and the other West European countries could not fail to arouse such a reaction from French statesmen.

[Kosovan] Anatoliy Andreyevich, I believe it would be worthwhile to dwell on the question of the basis on which agreement was reached for the cooperation of the leftwing parties in the new French Government.

[Krasikov] First of all, we should probably say that both the main leading parties of the present government majority, which I would call the parties of the French working class, have described the agreement which they have reached as a compromise, under which neither of them surrenders any of its own positions or its own ideology. For the communists this means Marxist-Leninist ideology, for the socialists reformist ideology. But with this, both these parties, like the left radicals who also support the socialists, declare that they are ready and willing to cooperate with each other for the implementation of a specific program which, on the whole, is in the interests of broad sectors of the country's population, particularly the working people.

[Kosovan] Thank you, Anatoliy Andreyevich.

STUDIO NINE VIEWS EUROPEAN EVENTS, HAIG PRC VISIT

OW300913 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 0837 GMT 27 Jun 81

["Studio Nine" program moderated by political observer Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin with the participation of Prof Vadim Valentinovich Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, head of the Consultants Group of a CPSU Central Committee department--live or recorded]

[Text] [Zorin] Good day comrades. We are meeting once again with you here in Studio Nine of the Ostankino television center for our traditional monthly talk devoted to important events in world politics.

These days our people are marking the 40th anniversary of the day when Hitlerite Germany undertook its villainous attack on the Soviet Union. That was the most arduous of all wars experienced by our motherland throughout its history or by mankind for that matter. The enormous efforts of the Soviet people, headed by the CPSU, were required as well as truly innumerable sacrifices to cope with the enormous danger which hung over the Soviet Union.

It would seem that 40 years is sufficient time for the wounds inflicted by war to heal, but today those husbands, sons and brothers who failed to return from the fields of battle are still mourned in many Soviet families. I think it can be said without any exaggeration, that the memories of that war even today are exerting a most serious influence on the political thinking of the peoples of the Soviet Union and on their attitude toward the current world situation. Now generally history as a science primarily has a significance as a social collective experience, and that is why as we observe the 40th anniversary of the beginning of the war we cannot but think of the past, compare it with the present and ponder the future.

Now I think that with these reflections on the experience of war we ought to begin our discussion today.

World War II, New Arms Race

[Zagladin] It really is a topical problem, especially since less than a week has passed, as a matter of fact, since the 40th anniversary of 21 June 1941 and so we cannot only view the date itself; we cannot only recall this date, but we can see the response which this date has aroused around the world. We now know how this anniversary passed--what was said by some and, on the contrary, what was not said by others. It should be said that generally the responses were gladdening, for we see, first of all, a realization on very broad and diverse levels of how dangerous a policy of militarism and war is in contemporary conditions. We see a recognition of the merits of the Soviet Union and Soviet people in the defeat of fascism and we see a recognition of the need to do everything today so that the past cannot be repeated in any way.

[Shishlin] In regard to this, Vadim Valentinovich, in his foreword to "The History of the Russian State" ["Istoriya Gosudarstva Rossiyskogo"] Nikolay Mikhaylovich Karamzin wrote some wonderful words--I have taken them down especially. He wrote: In a certain sense history is a sacred book of the people. Most important and essential is that it is a mirror of their daily lives and activities, a scroll of revelations and rules, a legacy of forefathers to their descendants and a supplement to and elucidation of the present and an example of the future. And in connection with this, the idea about the repetitiveness and nonrepetitiveness of history is, of course, important--it is repetitive and yet it is not repeatable.

Repetitiveness in today's politics in relation to the politics of the past can be seen in the aspiration of the United States to forge for itself both an armor and a sword as massive as possible and preferably a nuclear one. Repetitiveness can probably also be seen in the fact that the United States wants to extract a selfish advantage from crises. Repetitiveness of course can also be seen in the fact that the United States has devised--yet generally, of course, it has adopted from the past--a certain kind of war without shots. Without fighting they are spending as much as is normally spent only during a state of war.

This kind of war without victims, although there are victims, represents a kind of policy capable of leading to a real war. And yet it goes without saying that there is a certain uniqueness in this whole history. This uniqueness lies in the fact that the world is changing, but it is not changing in the direction of the gloomy predictions being made in Washington, where all those dismal discourses about communism are being dished up as something new, although they have been going on for a long time. This is how it was in the past and how it is today but, eventually, in the long run those gloomy discourses will disappear. And this uniqueness, this change in the situation is, of course, related to the general course of social development. And this course of social development, even with the greatest complexity of the contemporary international situation, with the heated passions, with the numerous problems, this change in the situation in itself--this change in the situation--permits us to see the horizon and over the horizon manifestations of another order as compared to those which were evident in the situation in Europe and the world 40 years ago.

[Zagladin] Well, now although the general statement of the question of repetitiveness and nonrepetitiveness is completely justified and indisputably correct, it none the less seems that it is necessary to once again look back in order to better see into the future. And I would like to do this from two points of view. If we are to look at World War II and particularly at the Great Patriotic War that began 40 years ago, then there are two aspects--repetitiveness and at the same time nonrepetitiveness. Repetitiveness, first of all in the sense that war began due to the unbridled aspirations of German imperialism to world supremacy. There was a desire to have everything--all the resources it was possible to have by seizing Europe, the Soviet Union, Asia, India, the Near East and everything else. And precisely this aspiration forced German industry to foot Hitler's bills and then to push him towards our country.

This was the aim that was set. It was reached by Hitler. Yes, all that remained for him to do was to cremate himself after all of his delirious ideas were reduced to dust by the victory of the Soviet Armed Forces. Of course, this is not repeatable. Yet on the other hand, unfortunately, the dream of world supremacy exists even today and there is no need to point a finger. Those who think about this...

[Shishlin] That is a good word--only a dream--a pitiful word.

[Zagladin] Yes, this is true. We will say aspiration, Yes, and to whom these aspirations belong it is difficult, it is not worth talking about. This is a well-known thing and those who dream of this talk about this themselves--about the need to turn the whole world into a sphere of interest of one power, of one state--generally speaking to solve all the problems at the expense of someone else. America needs energy. Where can it be found? In America? Nothing of the sort. Through scientific and technical revolution? What for? It is much easier to lay one's paws on the Near East or on Latin America. Raw materials--the same thing. The environment--why think about your own country, harmful branches of industry should be moved to some location abroad to solve the question. Therefore the element of repetitiveness, unfortunately, is present here as well--to turn the entire world into a sphere for insuring the interests of the United States.

Now what did not succeed in the past will not turn out today and here this repetitiveness about which Nikolay Vladimirovich spoke fully comes into its own insofar as the world has truly changed and not only in the sense that there is a Soviet Union and a mighty socialist system, but also because those countries that they want to divide among themselves have long become independent subjects of historic development and not one of these countries, even those that have some kind of reactionary regimes--or at least rightwing ones--wish to be divided. They want to be independent. And so, the events of the seventies, from this point of view, and the resistance of the developing countries against the dictate of the United States and other developed states are most significant.

The 22d of June 1941 was, of course, not only a stage in the struggle for world supremacy by German capital, but it was also primarily the biggest collision of two systems--it was the biggest attack by capitalism against socialism. In his time Churchill called for doing away with Bolshevism while it was still in its infancy.

This did not succeed during the intervention period of the Civil War. So they decided to try a more global approach. And actually all the reactionary forces of imperialism came out on the side of Hitler in this war, at the beginning. It is another matter that on account of the contradictions and because of the danger that Hitlerism posed for other nations many had to review their point of view and even join in a coalition with the Soviet Union--a anti-Hitler coalition--and struggle jointly against fascism. But in the beginning the sympathies of big capital were there, on that side.

The young people of today cannot remember what we can remember, specifically, Truman's words when he repeatedly said that if a war were to begin then it must be seen who was winning--if Hitler were winning then Russia must be aided and if Russia were winning then Hitler must be helped--let them destroy each other as much as possible. Now this point of view is most significant for that period. Now, how all this ended is also well-known. Are there relapses and attempts to repeat this? Of course there are. Besides a lot is now being said about a Soviet threat and, about how the entire policy of the United States today is a response to the threat coming from the East. Unfortunately this is being talked about not only in Washington but in the European capitals as well and particularly a great deal is unfortunately being said about this in Bonn. But there is no threat and there has not been any Soviet threat. There is something else if you wish--I do not want to coin any catchwords but the fact that an American threat exists both for the Soviet Union and for Europe is an indisputable fact.

Now presently a lot is being said about these Euroweapons--American Pershing missiles and cruise missiles--which are being created supposedly in response to the Soviet threat created by the Soviet missiles that are called SS-20 in the West. Well now these missiles exist, of course, they have been in existence since 1977--I request that our television viewers remember that date. Now I have a book here entitled "They Talk About Survival" [Rech Idet o Tom Chtoby Perezhit]. This is, as a matter of fact, a collection of materials published recently in the FRG--materials devoted to the topic of these medium-range missiles.

There is an interesting chronology here, based on U.S. and NATO documents. And this is what it says--I ask that you pay attention to the dates: 1970--leading American military circles demand the development of the Pershing II system and medium-range missiles for Europe; 1971--one of the representatives of U.S. military circles speaks out about the need to urgently engage in the improvement of medium-range weapons; 1974--funds are allocated for the Pershing II system and the U.S. Navy begins trials of cruise missiles; 1975--this is now all reviewed in the NATO framework; 1976, comrades, before 1977--the question of improving medium-range weapons was discussed at the 19th and 20th sessions of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group; and so forth. I will not read this long list, but this entire list speaks of only one thing, that all of this was planned long before and in advance of the Soviet Union's deployment of its SS-20 missiles.

[Zorin] However, attempts are now being made to present this matter in such a way that this is a response the West was compelled to make in view of the Soviet Union's measures.

[Zagladin] That is quite true, this is precisely what they are attempting to prove...

[Zorin] What you have just cited simply demolishes this propaganda concept.

[Zagladin] That is correct. Now I will return to 1941. What are these missiles for? Well, there is a statement which I would also like to cite. In the National Security Council there is a certain Mr Pipes, an expert on Soviet affairs, who declared recently, quite recently as a matter of fact, that the question is as follows: That either the Soviet Union must change its system in the Western plan or there will be war. There is no alternative here, Pipes said.

Now here is another article in the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Here there are two authors, and one of them is Colin Gray, a presidential adviser, who contends that war is possible and expedient. In what sense? In order to destroy the Soviets. Now then how does this differ from those appeals which were made before 22 June 1941? Of course the differences that exist on the other hand are colossal--differences in the sense that again the world is different and these hopes cannot be realized, just as Hitler's hopes were not realized.

But the reply to this question, nonetheless, as to whether or not it can be realized, is not that simple.

Today the world has become far more complex, and this is what I have in mind. Well, all right, let us assume, let us try to imagine that some hotheads--or maybe we should call them something a little stronger--attempt to start a war with the aim of liquidating socialism. What will this yield? It will result in the destruction of the fruits of civilization, as we have repeatedly declared, and all reasonable people understand this. In other words, obliteration of socialism can be attempted, but the payment for this attempt would be the destruction of everything that mankind has created over the centuries.

A policy of balancing on the brink of war can be attempted, which is what the Reagan administration is trying to do now.

What can this lead to? To uncontrollable turns, to surprises which may turn into tragedies of war. Therefore our point of view is that a policy of war as well as a policy of balancing on the brink of war must be completely eliminated.

Attempts--as a matter of fact this thought suggests itself--that at present attempts to prolong the existence of capitalism, to insure its supremacy for 1,000 years. Hitler desired to have a 1,000-year Reich and this, in actual fact, should have been the 1,000 years supremacy of capitalism. Well now too, as a matter of fact, the idea is to destroy socialism so that capitalism can live a little longer. Now then this idea not only threatens socialism, it threatens all mankind. Thomas Mann said in his day that anticommunism is a foolishness, the greatest foolishness, or the main foolishness of the 20th century. Now we can say that anticommunism, in its brutish form or in its militarist form, is the main danger of the 20th century--it is the main danger for the very survival of mankind. And everything must be done to see that this policy cannot continue, that it retreats.

The alternative is quite simple, I beg your pardon Nikolay Vladimirovich, the alternative is quite simple. We have a proposal: Let us live in harmony, and not under conditions of nuclear mushroom clouds, not under a canopy of nuclear umbrellas but under peaceful conditions in which the systems compete, demonstrate what they are capable of, what they can give to people and what they cannot give to people. We are confident in our system, particularly if there is a durable peace, if we can free the means, which we are now forced to spend for military purposes, for peaceful purposes. We are absolutely confident in our correctness and in the correctness of our social system and our ideas. Now if others are confident in their system and in their ideas, just as we are, then let them prove this--but prove this in peaceful conditions. Now this is the only thing we want and we do not have nor did we have any aggressive plans or any other plans.

[Shishlin] I would simply like to note that, generally, if we stand on facts then it is obvious that a certain peace based on mutual fear exists. But, as a matter of fact, a lot of lances are broken around this because this peace is based on mutual fear, which somewhere in the future, in some political ambitions can turn into something quite monstrous--this peace which is based on mutual fear, does not suit the Soviet Union.

And the Soviet Union sets the problem with its entire policy of asserting a different kind of peace--a just peace which would be based on decreasing levels of military confrontation and a peace which would be characterized by a growing confidence and harmony. This, as a matter of fact, is what Soviet foreign policy and the policy of the other fraternal socialist states is aimed at.

It seems to me that the most acute, most important and the most significant struggle is being waged around this in international affairs.

View on Polish Situation

[Zorin] Now, insofar as we are speaking or reflecting on the experience of World War II it is appropriate to remember that this war originated in Europe and that Europe was the place where most of the main events of this war unfolded. It is natural today--it is particularly appropriate--to say something about the current political situation in Europe, which remains one of the major centers of world politics. I would like to ask you Vadim Valentinovich, to assess concisely if possible, the present political situation in Europe.

[Zagladin] The matter is not that simple insofar as Europe is a big place and...

[Zorin] And there are many problems.

[Zagladin] And there are many problems. But nonetheless something concise can be said about this. I would put it this way: Presently the continent is experiencing a period of struggle for its existence. This, as a matter of fact, is the main thing that can be said now about the situation in Europe because an enormous internal political struggle is going on in separate countries, and so forth, but essentially all of this fades into the background or joins in this general struggle--the struggle for the continent's existence.

Why? Well for the very same reasons. The American strategic plan, I have already mentioned this, consists of standing aside at the expense of war in Europe and elsewhere. Specifically, the Americans call Europe a theater for military actions. This is, so to speak, a long-range consideration. Yet this plan also includes a short-term consideration about which I would also like to speak and if you wish, this is the second direct danger. This second consideration consists of--this is an attempt at such planning--an attempt to deprive Europe of its independence, and to completely subjugate it to the dictates of the United States--to deprive the Europeans of the opportunity to use the advantages of detente, the advantages of cooperation, the advantages of economic cooperation with the socialist countries, the advantages of an independent policy vis-a-vis the developing states--they want to deprive Europe of all these things, and precisely by foisting this American strategy on it--a strategy of turning Europe into a theater for military activities.

Now occasionally when you speak of this--and we have to often speak on this topic--they say: You want to start a quarrel between the Europeans and Americans. We have no such idea. We do not wish to start quarrels between anyone. We are simply stating a fact. Besides this fact is being stated by the Europeans themselves sufficiently, obviously and clearly.

[Shishlin] Another no less obvious fact, it seems to me, Vadim Valentinovich, is that in those discussions that are presently going on over Europe, and particularly in connection with the events in Poland--the situation in Poland--people as a rule reason as to what could occur, if the wave of anarchy and chaos were to devour socialist Poland and if a certain destabilization were to occur in connection with this in the European situation.

It seems to me that something like this is already occurring--it is already occurring now particularly with the events in Poland, around which speculation is being consciously created--around the events in Poland on which certain Western centers are attempting to exert their influence. These events are being used precisely to achieve the very aims you speak of.

[Zagladin] Quite right, Nikolay Vladimirovich. Now, insofar as we have begun speaking about Poland, I would like to add the following idea: It seems to me that the general strategy is just that--an attempt to use the destabilization in those very aims, in that strategy, the nuclear strategy in Europe of which we spoke. But, there is a difference in how this whole thing is being perceived by the United States and by Western Europe. Of course, these could also be a difference between various capitals, but this difference is too fine.

Now what difference do I personally see? Of course, there are many forces that have taken a hand in destabilizing the situation in Poland to support, roughly speaking, the counterrevolutionary forces there. Now these European forces exist and are active, however, Europeans as a whole take the attitude that they do not want a destabilization of the situation, for they are afraid that should the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland move ahead this would be to the great detriment of detente, the cause of peace and cooperation and they would like to avoid such an extreme turn of events--although socialism in Poland is not to their liking at all.

However in America, things are quite the contrary. It seems to me they are doing everything they can to destabilize the situation as much as possible without regard for the consequences. And why? Well, once again, because the calculations of the United States include the greatest possible exacerbation of the situation in Europe and this requires destabilization of the situation in Poland.

And this is a surprising matter. The Americans, who are always reproaching anybody at random, for nothing, unnecessarily, and without any reasons for interfering in the internal affairs of other countries are themselves for the second time now, first it was the Senate and now its the House of Representatives--the Subcommittee for Europe and the Middle East--is adopting a resolution on the situation in Poland that--well, all right if it concerned some kind of external aspects--is giving instructions to the Polish Government as to what it should and should not do.

[Shishlin] Then there is the behavior of all those American banks--and not only American banks--in relation to Poland. As you know the American banks procrastinated right up to the last day with the solution of the question of deferring Poland's debt repayment. Besides, they are talking about interest on the debts and those payments that were limited precisely to 1981. They procrastinated, they sized things up and declared directly that they are following the development of events in the country and would adopt their decisions in accordance with and depending on the turn of events.

Prior to this, before this situation, the Western banks withdrew part of their assets from Polish banks amounting to 500 million dollars. By doing this, of course, they did not make the economic situation in Poland any better. Well now, the Americans have kind of agreed to defer the payment of Polish debts, but their claws are now clearly defined. Now as far as what you are saying concerning the recommendations to the Polish leadership as to what it has a right to do and what it has no right to do, of course this is completely cynical interference into internal Polish affairs.

On the other hand, let's take the letter of the Central Committee of our party to the PZPR Central Committee--the speculation that was raised around it! The many complex interpretations of it that were attempted!

Yet the letter is quite explicit. I will cite it: The change of the PZPR leadership and the desire to overcome gross mistakes relating to violation of the regularities of socialist construction, to restore the confidence of the masses--primarily of the working class--in the party and to strengthen socialist democracy were met by us with complete understanding.

[Zagladin] This is an extremely important part of our letter, Nikolay Vladimirovich, which talks about our genuine position, and it is important--and why you were correct to cite it--because even some of our friends, as a matter of fact, are interpreting our position not quite accurately, I would say that what is happening is that there is a process of renewal in Poland, that it is moving forward, and there are some conservative forces there which we are supporting and which are hindering this; that we, well that we do not want any changes. This is an absolutely incorrect position. We are not against changes. This is, first of all, the business of the Polish comrades, and second we consider, considered and consider, that socialism is a community that must renew and improve constantly and to slow this process would mean to prejudice socialism, which, as a matter of fact, events in Poland during the past decade have shown.

But the main danger comes not at all from the fact that someone is or is not hindering the renewal but from the fact that attempts are being made to use this renewal in completely other, counterrevolutionary, aims. Consequently this position of ours is being represented simply as an attempt to hinder the improvement of the socialist system in Poland. Now, what could be further from our aspirations?

[Shishlin] Yes, and at the same time they do not even wish to pay heed to or read what the Polish comrades themselves are saying. In particular, for example Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at one of the most recent voivodship conferences where elections of delegates to the congress were being held, said the following: The enemies of socialism are trying by all means to deepen public anxiety by fanning human passions and directing them against the party, the people's power, our alliances and the socialist system. A great help, Kania stresses, in the struggle against various kinds of counterrevolutionary threats in our country, was rendered by the letter of the CPSU Central Committee to the members of our party's Central Committee. It draws attention in a friendly way to a number of real threats and that is why on our part we will do everything in order to restore and strengthen confidence in People's Poland as an ally.

[Zorin] Well, it seems to me that interest in the events in Poland is related to the great influence these events are having on the political situation in Europe, but I would like to ask you, Vadim Valentinovich, to mention some other facts also related to the political situation....

[Zagladin] Other components of the European situation.

[Zorin] Exactly.

[Zagladin] Yes, as we have already said, there are many of these components and there are some things that are worth mentioning, even in the most concise way. Recently I had the opportunity to visit the FRG, to attend the Sixth Congress of the German Communist Party [DKP], and naturally we saw more than just the meeting hall of the congress. Our delegation toured the country briefly and we met representatives of both ruling parties--the Social Democratic and Free Democratic--and representatives of the opposition, in this way some kind of picture of the state of events was formed.

What can be said: You know I could not recognize the FRG. It was not the same country that I had seen earlier. Its temperament right now more readily reminds one of a romance country--stormy discussions are going on which are accompanied by demonstrations and manifestations. These are unusual forms and manifestations of this political struggle. For instance when a demonstration of 40,000 students gathers in Bonn--and this is a relatively small city so this is quite a number--and is just as stormy as, say a demonstration in Naples or Paris, this really leaves a strong impression. But the matter does not only lie in such outward activity. The truth of the matter lies in the fact that enormous and very wide levels have joined this struggle. Now the same question remains at the center of the struggle--to survive, Europe must survive. And everybody participates in this matter to some extent.

Let us take the Social Democratic Party for example. It is the ruling party. It supports, its leadership supports the (?dual) Brussels agreement, that is the agreement on deployment of missiles. This is not very logical--this policy--but what can be done? At the same time the Social Democrats, and this includes Chancellor Schmidt, come out all the time saying that they would not like to have the missiles in the long run, while the majority of Social Democratic Party members--the rank and file--are participating, actively participating in mass activities against the deployment of new American missiles in the FRG.

Further, the Free Democrats...just at the time when we were in the FRG there was a congress there of the Free Democratic Party. Before the congress its leader, Genscher, Mr Genscher, the vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, said that although there is disorder among the Social Democrats in our party everything is perfectly tranquil.

And so the congress was held. Now two-thirds voted for the missiles, that is true, but one-third nonetheless came out against them, although a certain amount of pressure was brought to bear on them and generally the situation was not simple.

As far as other forces are concerned, a conference of the Evangelical Church has just been held and it was held entirely under an antimissile (?slogan). Now this is not to mention the DKP Congress. You see here I have a small poster. This is the poster of the congress and this as a matter of fact is its main symbol. "Everything for Peace" was the slogan of this congress--the Sixth Congress of the German Communist Party--and the congress truly passed under a slogan of struggle against the danger threatening the FRG. Now here are a few other things which I brought back--this is the symbol of the antimissile movement in the FRG. It reads: No, I Say No to Euromissiles.

French Events Viewed

Well, so much for the FRG. We can recall other countries. In neighboring France where parliamentary elections have just been held there showed a very serious shift to the left and this is significant from two points of view: First of all this was a major event in the history of France itself, insofar as there has been no alliance of leftwing forces there since 1947 when the communists were removed from the government--removed illegally generally speaking--and there has been no leftwing government. And now it exists and everybody is waiting to see what this will bring the country. Second...

[Zorin] Vadim Valentinovich, I would like to dwell on the former, then we can continue with the latter. Presently there is a lot of speculation, both in the Western press and in the French bourgeois [press], about the agreement between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of France, which formed the basis for the communists' inclusion in the government. And much is being said in these commentaries about these agreements being either generally extremely contradictory, or they say that the Communist Party has essentially retreated from its positions...what is the real state of these affairs?

[Zagladin] Well you see, of course, this is an agreement between two parties which are not identical parties--they are different parties with different positions on a number of issues--and if these parties are agreeing to participate in a joint ministerial cabinet then they must conclude some kind of compromise. Now what is important to stress is that at the very beginning of the agreement it is quite clearly stipulated that both parties remain independent and have their political positions--do not reject their own political positions. Second, these two parties nonetheless found an opportunity to work out a government program set forth--or more accurately a basis, it is not a program as a matter of fact, it is the basis of a policy perhaps--which is set forth in this agreement. This is a compromise, therefore, naturally there are formulations in it which are not like those which the Communist Party would have in its documents nor like those which the Socialist Party would have in its documents.

Comrade Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party, spoke over French television yesterday, if I am not mistaken, no, it was 2 days ago I would say, and he replied to approximately this same question. In fact he stressed that we have differences in our positions, but we tried to take that which is common to them. For instance, both parties came out for disbanding military blocs, peace, disarmament. Talking about complex issues, such as the Afghan problem for instance, they posed the question like this: that they come out for the political solution of the question, that they come out for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, for Afghanistan solving its fate itself--now generally speaking this is a correct position, this is our position too.

It is a different question that both parties, each in a slightly different way, understand and see something of their own behind this common formula, because the French communists support the struggle of the Afghan people and its government against the foreign counterrevolution while the Socialist Party looks on the matter in a somewhat different way...but generally speaking, a political solution must really be achieved and conditions must really be established so that this solution would permit the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan...so I repeat that this is in fact a compromise, but a compromise which may serve to advance things along in a very correct, I think, direction.

And here the latter point arises. I think that the program that has been worked out will provide an opportunity for France to participate more actively in this struggle for the future of Europe, in a peace-loving policy. The Socialist Party and its leaders and President Mitterrand have already taken a series of steps in this area--they have announced well-known changes in France's policy vis-a-vis disarmament. Before the elections the Socialist Party's program envisaged an active participation of France in the policy of negotiations on disarmament and now the French president is coming out for talks. So in general, of course, we can say life will show us. But the fact that there has been a positive shift in the country, this is apparently irrefutable.

Now we can add to this, in the form of an enumeration, that these are not the only two countries where there is a struggle and where there are shifts of a positive nature. Elections were also held in the Netherlands recently. The parties which make up the majority now are those which came out for a peaceful future for Europe and against missiles and for agreement between the East and West.

These are the Labor Party, the Democrats '66 and the Communist Party. Cyprus--the elections were unequivocally in favor of a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem and a peaceful settlement of the entire eastern Mediterranean situation, In Italy--although the elections are extremely complex if we take the positions of the separate parties, nonetheless, it is clear overall that the Christian Democrats suffered the greatest losses.

[Zorin] You have the municipal elections in mind.

[Zagladin] Yes. They call them administrative elections. They were partial, not full. Yet nevertheless it was the Christian Democrats who in general were responsible for everything that was negative in Italy's policy over the past 30 years. Other parties made advances in various ways. The Socialist Party made somewhat greater advances than others. Our comrades, the Italian communists, made gains in the north while losing a little in the south, but overall, I reiterate, this poll can be also said to have been a poll for peace.

Therefore, if we are to talk about the Europe of today and about its internal processes then these are processes that are positive in nature--and leftwing processes most likely--and I think that this shift to the left is related--to a great extent--precisely to the realization of the danger, of the military danger.

Here I would like to note a rather curious event. Here is a book that has just been published in the FRG--A book called "Generals for Peace" [Generaly za Mir]. Here is the book. This is actually an interview with generals--and I will enumerate them: The German, the West German General (Von Baldisen), the Portuguese General Costa Gomes, Great Britain is represented by General (Michael Harbot), Greek General (George Kumanakos), American Admiral John Marshal Lee, the Dutch General (Von Meinfeld), Italian General and Senator (Milo Pasti), French Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti--and all these generals and admirals come out for peace. This is in itself a rather original page in the history of the struggle for peace when generals...yet on the other hand this is a very significant page insofar as the generals recognize the danger, they write about it, they cite figures and all of these figures show on the one hand the need to do away with the military danger in Europe and on the other hand they expose the myths about a Soviet military threat. Objectively, they have no aspirations in this. They are by no means all friends of ours, and probably many of them are not, but they speak objectively.

And the last thing that I would like to say in regard to Europe, literally a few sentences, is about the Berlin conference of communist and workers parties that is presently marking its fifth anniversary. Nikolay Vladimirovich and I had the opportunity to attend this conference and to participate in its preparation. What do you say, Nikolay Vladimirovich. I think that we can say with a clear conscience that the conclusions and provisions that were included in the concluding document were correct after all and the past 5 years have fully confirmed their correctness.

[Shishlin] And moreover, I think that they were not only correct, they have worked and are continuing to work. In any case what has happened in France--you were just speaking about this--well, looking at the entire complexity of this matter, it already indicates something bigger than just a dialogue between socialists and communists--it is practical cooperation based, of course, on a certain compromise.

What you have said about the visit of the CPSU delegation to the FRG, and the political spectrum of those interlocutors with whom you had the opportunity to ta[illegible] --is also a realization of the conclusions of the Berlin conference and a proof of the possibility of holding talks between communists and social democrats, between communists and Christian Democrats and between communists and representatives of various political trends.

[Zagladin] I beg your pardon, permit me to interrupt you.

[Shishlin] Yes?

[Zagladin] The meeting of the Palme commission on questions of disarmament that was held here just last week, or some 10 days, ago, is further proof of the possibility of talks. And now, literally in a few days time, Willy Brandt, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, will arrive here and this will be yet another step in the dialogue--the dialogue that really...

[Shishlin--interrupting] Yes, incidentally Brandt made a fairly interesting observation and although there was nothing new in this observation, it is correct. He said that the affairs of the European people--that's how Brandt put it--were not at all that bad when peace and cooperation prevailed in the relations between the Russians and Germans. This should be recognized while also fully realizing the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany is a member of NATO while the Soviet Union is the leading power in the Warsaw Pact.

Haig PRC Visit

[Zorin] Well, I propose now to shift from Europe to the Far East, since an event recently occurred there of no little significance for the world situation. I have in mind the visit of General Haig, U.S. secretary of state, to Beijing and the decisions adopted during his talks there. It should be said that these decisions are being viewed throughout the world not simply as the latest action of American diplomacy but as a serious step which introduced a new and--it should be said directly--dangerous element into the present international situation. I think we are obliged to discuss this question today. Therefore, I ask you, Nikolay Vladimirovich.

[Shishlin] Well, as far as Haig's visit is concerned, I would probably like to say first that a few things there remained in brackets [za skobkami] during Haig's visit to Beijing while a few things remained in the minds of the American and Beijing interlocutors. However, what happened was quite enough. Besides, I would like to note that during this period there were many visitors to Beijing, including the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, who also met with the Chinese foreign minister. In connection with this, the Romanian press wrote about this visit, saying that the present dialogue between the ministers of foreign affairs of Romania and the PRC--added to a whole series of numerous political, economic, scientific and cultural actions in recent years--will permit a review and reveal new opportunities to strengthen mutual cooperation and deepen relations of friendship between our countries.

Well, as a matter of fact, the Romanian minister of foreign affairs also met with Haig, at the latter's initiative, in Beijing. But, now about Haig's visit itself.

What I am saying is, that which has already been published--that which is not in someone's mind and not in brackets--is sufficient. First, the United States and China declared a coincidence or parallelism of global strategic interests. This is serious. Second, the United States and China declared that they had parallel regional strategic interests.

Right after Haig's departure from Beijing, members of his entourage, particularly Holdridge, assistant secretary of state, were already saying that the United States would use every opportunity to exert political, economic and, if necessary, even military pressure on Vietnam to force Hanoi to behave in a way which would be suitable to those who participated in the Beijing talks. Now this concerns not only Southeast Asia but the Near East as well, and even southern Africa and other regions which...

[Zagladin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, please excuse me, but this concerns you and us--the Soviet people--first of all. Both the English and American press are saying directly that we are seeing an attempt to play the Chinese card, an attempt which is being denied but which is taking place. As England's THE TIMES wrote, the Russians have cause for anxiety.

[Zorin] That is right.

[Shishlin] Well, I would like to even cite some direct statements of Haig's on this matter. He put it this way: Since the national interests of our two countries are in many ways parallel, our political lines supplement each other. So you see, that is how it is. Of course, what is being called decision number one stemming from this visit is the decision of the United States to sell China offensive weapons--lethal weapons. Previously the United States sold China so-called dual purpose weapons--not weapons but, more accurately, dual purpose goods that can be used for both civil and military purposes.

In fact, if we look at what was decided and outlined by the United States and China, the extraordinary scope and scale of this cooperation leads to the thought that what is being discussed is precisely the establishment of an alliance, although it is not being called this. All this of course is very, very serious. However, I would not say that everything put down on paper and everything in the minds of those who spoke recently in Beijing will occur or turn out as planned, at least not at the present time.

[Zorin] In connection with what you have been saying, Nikolay Vladimirovich, I would like to share some impressions concerning my recent visit--my relatively recent visit--to the United States. Generally, a discussion is under way there as to whether it is advantageous or not for the United States to have a strong, including a militarily strong, China.

Well, it should be said that these discussions cannot be discerned if you read the press for instance, particularly the press addressed to a broad readership. Nonetheless, these discussions are going on, and most seriously. Extremely influential political figures, ideologues and specialists on international affairs are now expressing extremely serious doubts. In other words, everybody agrees that this kind of assistance to China, including military assistance, is advantageous from the viewpoint of the interests of this very moment. It can be used, they say in Washington, as a way to exert pressure on the Soviet Union. But then the question of the long-range plan arises. Is this advantageous to the United States or not?

Now I had the occasion to attend such a discussion at Georgetown University--that is in Washington--when serious specialists posed the question: Why does America need a strong China? After all, this is not advantageous. It is enough for the United States of America to have a strong Soviet Union. A strong China, both on a global scale and in the Far East, is disadvantageous in terms of a long-range plan--a plan spanning decades.

Incidentally, one of the prominent specialists at this Georgetown University--he works there at the Center for Strategic Studies--Prof Ray Cline recently wrote in connection with this. I will simply quote his words: The political stability and reliability of China are more than doubtful. That is why America's strategic leaning towards China should not be implemented so self-confidently and hastily. The U.S.-PRC axis which is taking shape can lead us to a war in Asia. The doubtful advantages from the strategic embrace in which the Chinese are enclosing Washington undoubtedly correspond more with the interests of Beijing than with our own. This is most characteristic.

[Zagladin] Now to talk about an axis is again a parallel with some other axes...

[Zorin] Axes which we remember, ah...

[Zagladin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, Valentin Sergeyevich spoke about discussions going on in the United States--about whether America needs a strong China. Are there or are there not discussions going on in China as to whether or not they need an alliance with America?

[Shislin] Yes, I would like to say something about that. It seems that in the next few days the decisions of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee plenary session will be published. I am not convinced that they will throw light on much. Maybe they will even make the fog around some things thicker. Nonetheless, concerning China's stability--concerning the fact that China can be viewed today as being firmly attached to American anchors--then here of course the doubts are enormous.

The United States is directing such attention to China that even the decision on the sale of weapons was obviously adopted in a forced way by the Reagan administration. It was needed by Haiq so that the preparatory conference within the framework of preparations for the CCP Central Committee plenary session could be conducted in a way suitable to the Deng Xiaoping faction. The fact of the matter is that in China not one, not two and not even three, but even more clans are in conflict [stalkivayutsya]--those of Deng Xiaoping; Hua Guofeng, who is obviously losing his leadership position in the CCP; and Ye Jianying. Now Ye Jianying is a military figure and the military was supposed to get a sizable gift from Deng Xiaoping so that they would support his position at the CCP Central Committee plenary session.

Of course essentially we can now say and foresee--and probably foresee correctly--who will now come out on top in China. It is clear that Deng Xiaoping continues to occupy the leading position. It is clear that Hu Yaobang, who is presently general secretary, will become chairman of the party. Most likely Peng Chong, presently mayor of Shanghai, will become the general secretary.

Now these political convulsions presently occurring in China, are continuing... After all this is not the first day or the first year. Take just the period since the death of Mao Zedong. How many political fights have already occurred in China? Yet this is not the most complicated thing. The most complicated thing, after all, lies in the fact that an extremely complex social and economic situation continues to prevail in China. Essentially the social and economic situation in China is close to explosive in nature; it is close to explosive.

It is the constant changing of economic policies. It is the inability to develop a reasonable economic strategy under conditions of a country of a billion people. What has China not had? There was the 10-year plan, and now it is gone. There was a 3-year plan; it is gone too. There was the normalization policy; this line remains but it has been extended up to 1983 or even beyond. Now, it seems, a long-term economic policy is being introduced. Now the word "long-term" can be used, but will it turn out to be long-term--because four modernizations which were announced as, I would say, sails which would take the Chinese ship to the heights of progress by the end of this millenium, these sails have sagged. After all there is no fresh wind in them.

It turns out that after trying only slightly to take a small step away from the Maoist shore, the Chinese leadership immediately had to grasp for a life buoy--in the form of Maoist ideas with all their harshness--for what, as a matter of fact, the Chinese themselves call a feudal fascist dictatorship. Now there is enormous social dissatisfaction in society. There is serious fermentation. Sixty-five percent of China's population is made up of youths under 30 years of age. Every year China must provide 20 million jobs for people entering the workforce. But these jobs do not exist. It is not accidental that everyone who has been to China and everybody who writes about China agrees that cynicism, mistrust and a loss of any kind of faith in ideals is characteristic of today's Chinese youth. It is due to this, then, that the Chinese leadership is now grasping for completely new--well, relatively new--ways to something which is really quite old, when they introduce the most, what is called the harshest, administrative repressive discipline. Yet they can no longer enforce it.

This is why I think that those who ponder over China's future are right. It is not at all so well determined and it is not at all so well predestined as it may seem, well, to those Californian businessmen who are used to having ties with China, be it Taiwan or China. This China is different and I will never believe that Chinese officials--and I am not even talking about the Chinese people--have not asked themselves the question: How they should act in relations with the Soviet Union?

Now after all, a phenomenon also of contemporary China is that, for instance, when facing the disintegration of people's education, the Chinese press appeals to the Chinese themselves to learn from none other than Krupskaya, Makarenko, Sukhomlinskiy and begins to reprint their articles.

This all points to the fact that the question of relations with the Soviet Union is lodged in the objective reality of China and it will grow and it will have to be answered. What China needs most of all, if we are to talk about its real national interests, is tranquillity and concentration on the task of construction. In this, of course, the Soviet Union would never be an enemy of China but would be a friend.

[Zorin] Now this instability of which you have spoken, Nikolay Vladimirovich, worries the United States very seriously. Yet nonetheless, as we can see, it is taking extremely dangerous steps related, in particular, to Haig's visit. In the Soviet Union there cannot, of course, and will not be an indifferent attitude toward these steps taken by Washington.

Talks, Peace Proposals

[Zorin] We spoke today, we have just spoken about a whole series of negative factors and not positive ones. We spoke about a whole series of negative factors leading to a destabilization of the political situation in the world. However there are completely opposite factors that play a considerable role, factors aimed at stabilizing the international situation, and they have made themselves felt in recent days.

In concluding our program I would like to ask you, Vadim Valentinovich, to dwell on this topic.

[Zagladin] Now, of course, along with various antagonistic and opposing factors that can change, there are permanent factors that exist and act in one direction. Their outcome strengthens peace and secures mankind's peaceful future. And this is a great, good fortune for the people of all countries because, otherwise, the entire picture would simply be very gloomy what with this American nuclear folly, and with the adventurism that prevails in a number of corners of the world located not so far from our country.

What factors am I talking about? I am primarily talking about the arrangement of forces in the world that change and change precisely for the benefit of those who come out for reason--I am not saying for socialism or for capitalism--for a reasonable solution to the problems existing in the world.

Let us put Europe and America aside. Now there are big countries like Nigeria in Africa, India in Asia, Mexico in Latin America and dozens of other countries--and I am not talking now about the progressive states that support us and are partly tied to us through a system of treaties. The potential of reason is extremely great and this potential is growing and finds its expression in politics.

I think that Valentin Sergeyevich had in mind, when he was talking about the events of recent days, primarily the USSR Supreme Soviet session that ended on Wednesday and that--in accordance with a proposal made by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev--adopted an appeal to the parliaments and peoples of the world. I would like to say that this is an unusual document and a document of major importance. Why? First of all this document of the Soviet parliament, of our country's Supreme Soviet, solemly confirmed on behalf of the entire people what was said at the congress on behalf of our party and on behalf of the communists. It confirmed that securing peace was, is and will be the highest aim of the Soviet state and the highest aim of our foreign policy. That was the first point.

Second, the Supreme Soviet appealed to all parliaments and to all legislative organs of all countries of the world and to the world's people with a single appeal for talks--an appeal to parliaments to decisively speak out for talks, an appeal to the peoples to resolutely support the idea of talks--because a lot depends on whether or not these talks will begin. They must be started as soon as possible.

The American administration is procrastinating while other forces support, conceal, or contradict this--but the main thing is that talks are not starting, yet they must start. This is what we are striving for this is what we want. Why? Because as soon as the sides take their seats at the negotiating table the situation immediately changes for the better and some kind of turning point begins. Perhaps these talks will be protracted. Perhaps they will be difficult. But they are not simply needed. They are essential and our country insists on these talks.

I think that this appeal of the USSR and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's address, which as usual was calm, worthy, very reserved and honest--these documents play a big role. The responses that we receive from various corners of the world and the reaction of the world's public to these documents show this.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expressed our desire for peace and our confidence in the fact that the cause of peace can be guaranteed--and this, comrades, is quite a lot.

[Zorin] Well now, our time has run out. It remains for me to thank you, my colleagues, for participating in our talk, and you our television viewers. And so until our next meeting here in our "Studio Nine."

PLO, ARAB LEAGUE SCORE SINAI PEACE FORCE PLAN

PM030944 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jun 81 p 3

[TASS report: "Provocative Decision"]

[Text] New York, 27 Jun--UN circles have assessed the agreement reached between the United States, Israel and Egypt on the creation of so-called "peace-keeping forces" in Sinai as an exceptionally dangerous provocative decision giving the go-ahead to the permanent deployment of large-scale U.S. Armed Forces contingents in the region.

We categorically oppose the knocking together of such forces, a TASS correspondent was told by H. 'Abd ar-Rahman, the PLO's representative at the United Nations. Essentially this is nothing other than a screen for excalating the U.S. military presence. This step graphically attests to the danger of treacherous separate deals and the threat to the peoples of the Near East created by its consequences.

According to C. Maqsud, the Arab League's permanent observer at the United Nations, the Arab League rejects the Camp David deal and believes that further efforts to galvanize it can only lead to harm for the Arab peoples' cause.

UN circles are stressing that Washington's intention to put on a practical footing the idea of cobbling together police forces in the Sinai contradicts the spirit and letter of the numerous UN General Assembly decisions on the Near East problem.

JOURNALISTS CONDEMN U.S. ARMS SUPPLIES TO ISRAEL

Levchenko Commentary

LD041030 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Our observer Leonid Levchenko comments on the decision of the American administration to continue its supplies of F-16 fighter-bombers to Israel.

Planes of this type were used in the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear research center near Baghdad, an act of aggression that was condemned by the United Nations Security Council and all the peace-lovingcountries. It was then that the American administration said it was suspending the delivery of F-16 fighter-bombers to Tel Aviv, obviously in an attempt to beat down the wave of protests against Washington's support of the Israeli aggressor. But almost in the same breath President Reagan, receiving the Israeli ambassador, assured him that Washington was not doing any fundamental revision of its policy with respect to Israel and would continue to regard it as America's close ally.

A few days after that statement the President addressed a news conference where he blamed the continuing tension in the Middle East not on Israel but on the Arab countries, the victims of Israeli aggression.

Little wonder now Washington has refused to apply even these symbolic sanctions against its Middle East ally. Clearly, its former censure of Israel for the air attack on Iraq was nothing but a distracting maneuver, a hypocritical gesture. As spokesman for the White House and the State Department have announced, this month Israel is to receive six F-16's from the United States. Besides it was agreed in principle that the four planes whose delivery was suspended following the piratical raid on Iraq, will also be handed over. Thus Washington's attitude can only be regarded as encouragement of Tel Aviv to new acts of brigandage and international terrorism.

Inspired by Washington's support, the Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin has declared arrogantly that his country will continue its present policy with respect to the Arabs. This spirit of militarism and arms brandishing keynoted the just held Israeli elections. The election programs of the two rival groups, Likud and Ma'arakh [alignment] were stuffed with threats to Arab countries and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Extremists in Israel, whatever guise they put on, are obviously bent on starting a new war in the Middle East and Washington encourages them in this with generous deliveries of the newest weapons. By pumping up tension in that explosive region the United States hopes to consolidate its own positions there with the help of Israel and Egypt, the two other parties to the Camp David deal. The aim is to turn the Middle East into America's political and military stronghold and use it for strangling the national liberation movement, for dictating and blackmailing independent nations.

Kharkov Comment

LD021718 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jul, TASS--Washington is planning to resume deliveries of the newest military aircraft to Tel Aviv. A White House spokesman said on Wednesday that a new consignment of six F-16 fighter-bombers would be shipped to Israel on July 17. One can be sure that these will be followed by the four planes whose delivery was suspended in June. Only three weeks have passed since the American administration tried to play a farce of condemnation of the Israeli gangster raid on a nuclear reactor outside Baghdad. To keep down general indignation and protests over this crying act of international brigandage, Washington assumed a hypocritical stance.

Anticipating a stormy debate of Israel's terroristic actions at the U.N. Security Council meeting, the White House declared on June 10 that it would suspend the shipping of four F-16 planes to Israel.

In the meantime Washington promised to investigate whether Israel had violated its agreements with the United States providing for defensive use of U.S.-supplied weapons. This gesture by Washington was devised to manifest its "concern" about the Israeli action and was presented almost as an embargo on further arms deliveries to Tel Aviv. However, Washington's affected concern was too short-lived. Its resources of hypocrisy did not last long.

One could hardly have expected any other course. The United States has been acting as Israel's main source of support for many years. In the past four years alone, the United States, according to some data, gave the Zionists 11 billion dollars in aid, not including unofficial gifts of money offered to Tel Aviv by its American friends. Israel receives the newest in U.S. weapons, which it uses for aggression and brigandage agair neighbouring Arab countries, not for defence.

Washington's lavish military assistance and political support have encouraged the Israeli hawks to continue and toughen their criminal policies amounting to international terrorism. The fact that the recent Security Council resolution did not duly reflect many states' demands for sanctions against Israel is to put the blame on Washington, which did all it could to protect the Tel Aviv aggressors.

The latest American "Phantoms" are being again shipped to Israel. To what Arab country will they carry their lethal cargo? What target will Tel Aviv hawks choose for their next barbarous attack? It is quite clear that the United States acts as an accomplice in Tel Aviv's aggressive acts by resuming shipments of F-16 fighter-bombers to Israel.

BROADCASTS TO POLAND USED FOR SPYING, SABOTAGE

LD042028 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1750 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] The American administration is extending the technical base of the subversive radio stations Liberty and Radio Free Europe. By the spring of next year it is planned to increase the power of the radio transmitters to double that of 1975. Broadcasts to Poland, as is asserted by officials in the United States, will in the future remain a priority, because of their particular necessity.

According to the information of West German journalists, the subversive radio stations Liberty and Radio Free Europe play the main role in the dissemination of rumors prepared by American propaganda. A network of secret informers is operating primarily in Poland itself. In addition to the propaganda broadcasts a wide program is conducted for the organization of spying and sabotage. The special transmitters of the CIA, supposedly located in Portugal, send broadcasts to Poland which contain instructions for counter-revolutionary groups.

CIA-Backed Radios

LD050140 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0001 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] The Reagan administration is extending more and more the technical base of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe stations, which are maintained by the American CIA and situated on FRG territory. Activity by antisocialist forces in Poland is directed via these radio stations, the paper UNSERE ZEIT notes. The work of the radio stations is aimed at constantly provoking disturbances and tension in the socialist countries, particular the Polish People's Republic, and at arousing negative feelings there with regard to the USSR. An extensive program is conducted for organization of spying and sabotage.

U.S. MOVES AGAINST FRENCH GOVERNMENT REVIEWED

LD051459 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 5 Jul 81

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko]

[Text] Washington, 5 Jul, TASS--The Reagan administration is making efforts to carry out its threat to reconsider the substance and the tone of relations with France following the inclusion of communists into the new French Government. The newspaper Washington STAR reports that the Central Intelligence Agency and other special services of the United States have already started reconsidering with the Government of France with a view to introducing restrictions and changes into it.

As is known, right after Francois Mitterrand and the Socialist Party won the elections, the Reagan administration brought strong pressure to bear on Paris, trying to prevent the inclusion of communists into the French Government.

Francois Mitterrand's refusal to yield to pressure from the United States, and the appointment of four communists as ministers in the new French cabinet caused unconcealed irritation in Washington. The U.S. Vice President George Bush who visited Paris sharply reprimanded the president of France stressing that the presence of communists in the cabinet would have a negative effect on U.S.-French cooperation. At the same time the U.S. Department of State published a lengthy sharply-worded anti-French statement.

Simultaneously Washington started a malicious propaganda campaign in the mass information media, trying to undermine cooperation between the Socialist and Communist Parties of France, to picture the participation of communists in the French Government nearly as a "chief threat" to the security of the West.

However, this crude pressure failed to bring results either. During the latest press conference the President of France Francois Mitterrand gave a fitting rebuff to self-appointed advisers from the United States.

All indicators are that in such circumstances Washington decided to cast off the mask of a "friend" of Paris and openly voiced its lack of confidence in the new French Government which received support from the bulk of the population of France.

'GREATER FREEDOM OF ACTION' CHANGES CIA ROLE

LD030632 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] U.S. Central Intelligence Agency abolished its Public Affairs office, effective 1 July. Last month the CIA ended all briefings for reporters. According to CIA Director William Casey, the agency no longer has to waste time justifying its activities. We bring you a comment by our observer, Igor Dmitriyev.

Earlier this year, CIA officials proudly declared that the new CIA Charter, worked out by the Carter administration, was dead. This Charter contained a number of modest measures to control CIA operations abroad by several congressional watchdog committees. In another move to give the CIA a greater freedom of action, the Reagan administration made it punishable to reveal the names of CIA agents and officers and disclose any information concerning covert operations abroad. And finally, American senators can no longer obtain private information under the Freedom of Information Act. This information can be withheld from them on grounds of security. All these steps indicate that the Central Intelligence Agency is going deep underground to prepare for widescale subversive operations aboard. The emphasis now is what CIA Director William Casey has described as the excellence of work and the high quality of contribution [as heard]. Now that national liberation movements and all those who in the slightest way oppose U.S. domination have been proclaimed America's enemies, it is clear what kind of contribution the Reagan administration expects of the CIA.

It is safe to assume that there will be fresh military coups in independent countries, encouraged and financed by the CIA. It is likely that there will be fresh assassination attempts on heads of state and governments, as was the case a decade or so ago. It is obvious that the CIA is going to step up interference, direct or clandestine, in the internal affairs of other countries.

During the past year, the CIA expanded its sphere of operations by assisting Afghan counterrevolutionaries and antigovernment elements in various other countries, including Kampuchea and Laos. William Casey's determination to enhance the excellence of CIA at work [as heard] can be construed as a warning to progressive regimes in Asia, Africa, Central and Latin America.

However, there are signs that the CIA is not going to limit its activities to foreign countires, thus civil liberty activists in the United States itself have expressed alarm that the CIA will resume intelligence gathering inside America, in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This has been standard practice both during the Vietnam war and in the postwar years. Having slashed a number of social and welfare programs at home, the Reagan administration set up the so-called early warning posts to monitor public unrest. And having embarked on a political course of confrontation, of achieving political and military supremacy in the world, the Reagan administration is ready to unleash the CIA against those who resist it. Home and foreign policies go together, don't they?

WASHINGTON 'HYPOCRITICAL' ON HUMAN RIGHTS

LD022228 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jul, TASS--TASS observer Ivan Ablamov writes: U.S. President Ronald Reagan issued a proclamation on the occasion of a so-called "Captive Nations Week" to be launched by the Washington administration on July 19. One can only wonder at this document. It is full of hypocritical statements about some "concern" for "captive nations" and "human rights," about "fidelity to the ideals of freedom". All American history testifies to the effect that the United States itself emerged as a result of enslavement of other nations, Indians in the first place. Only one million out of ten million Indians have survived now. Genocide against this nation continues up to the present day, albeit with more sophisticated means of social and economic pressure. Indians have been confined to reservations where hunger and poverty is their lot. Their life expectancy is the lowest in the country and infant mortality is the highest. The worst education and medical aid, the hardest living conditions is what the United States of America has given them.

The mercilless enslavement of 50 million black Americans, people from Latin America and other national minorities are all signs of flagrant violations of human rights in the U.S. Racism has made them live in ghettos, without work, under political and economic exploitation and violent persecution. A recent report by the semi-official advisory council for justice for national minorities in the U.S. says that masses of people from national minorities live a miserable life under the social and economic system and practice of the U.S.

The present U.S. administration delivers broad military, economic and political assistance to extremely reactionary, dictatorial and repressive regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These regimes have enslaved their nations, with hundreds of millions being their real captives.

Washington might well concentrate its concern on these truly captive nations. In fact, however, the United States props up and aids the fascists of Chile, the bloody Salvadorean junta and the Seoul butchers. Washington has struck a close alliance with Pretoria's racists and Israeli aggressors. Moreover, the United States itself is cherishing imperialistic plans to make whole countries and peoples its captives.

These are the facts. The attempts of the present American administration to disguise itself as a champion of human rights and captive nations can deceive no one.

NEW APPOINTMENT OF ERNEST LEFEVER REPORTED

LD041244 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1634 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Washington, 3 Jul (TASS)--In spite of widespread protests, the rabid reactionary and Soviet-hater Ernest Lefever has, after all, received an appointment in the State Department. He has become a "consultant" to Secretary of State A. Haig, and, in this new capacity, will deal with issues of "terrorism and counter-terrorism." When a Senate committee, by 13 votes to 4, rejected Lefever's appointment to the post of assistant state secretary for human rights, he was forced to withdraw his candidature. However, the personal support of Ronald Reagan and Alexander Haig ensured for him quite a high post in the foreign policy department of the United States. Lefever's appointment shows once more the tenacity with which the Reagan administration clings to that odious candidature, which obviously finds a proper place within the framework of Washington's general political course, directed at building up tension and at aggravating Soviet-American relations.

OFFICIALS ATTEND U.S. ENVOY'S 4 JULY RECEPTION

LD031312 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Today U.S. charge d'affaires in the USSR Garrison held a reception on the occasion of the national holiday, Independence Day. Present at the reception were Georgadze, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Korniyenko, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR and other officials.

Comment on Independence Day

LD041719 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2010 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Today is Independence Day in the U.S. To mark this occasion Leonid Ilich Brezhnev sent greetings to President Reagan. He will remind you of the events behind this important date. Two hundred and five years ago the Americans defeated the British colonists. Using contemporary terminology we could say that this day crowned the national liberation struggle with victory, but it would be interesting to know whether the representatives of official Washington express it in these terms. After all, according to their theory--which they are trying to use as the basis of their foreign policy--national liberation struggles are terrorism.

VISITING U.S. CONGRESSMEN TOUR KIEV SIGHTS

LD012230 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 1 Jul 81

[Text] Kiev, 1 Jul, TASS--A group of American congressmen, members of the House Subcommittee on Higher Education, headed by the Subcommittee Chairman Paul Simon, stayed for two days in the capital of the Ukraine. The guests visited the Executive Committee of the Kiev City soviet. The subcommittee chairman emphasized during the talk that American congressmen had come to the Soviet Union not only to familiarize themselves with the system of education in the country, but also to promote improvement of relations between the United States and the USSR.

The guests viewed the memorial complex "the Ukrainian state museum of the history of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45", went to see the monument to the Soviet citizens and Soviet servicemen, prisoners of war who were killed by fascist occupationists in the area of Syrts. They viewed the architectural-historical preserves and places of interest in Kiev.

REPORTAGE, COMMUNIQUE ON GROMYKO'S POLISH VISIT

Departure From Moscow

LD031428 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister, today left Moscow for Warsaw on a short friendly visit at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

He was seen off at the airport by Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; Rusakov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Pegov, head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee; Korniyenko, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and other officials. Among those seeing him off was Szyszko, the Polish charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Arrival in Poland

LD031805 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived in Warsaw today for a short, friendly visit at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic. He was met at Warsaw Airport by Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Waszczuk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee and Polish foreign minister, and other officials. Aristov, USSR ambassador to Poland was among the welcoming party.

Wreath-Laying Ceremony

LD041132 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] Today Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Central Committee Politburo, and USSR foreign minister, who is in Warsaw on a brief friendly visit at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the republic, laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and signed the commemorative book. Comrade Gromyko then laid a wreath at the obelisk of the memorial complex erected in honor of Soviet soldiers who fell in the battles for the liberation of Warsaw during the World War II. At the wreath-laying ceremony honor guards were assembled and the anthems of the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union were played.

Communique Issued

LD051530 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 5 Jul 81

["Full text of joint Soviet-Polish communique" released in Warsaw, on Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko's 3-5 Jul visit to Poland]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jul, TASS--"Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, has paid a friendly visit to Warsaw from July 3 to 5, 1981, on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Andrey Gromyko had meetings and talks with Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR, and Jozef Czyrek, member of the PUWP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the PPR. In the course of their talks, which passed in a businesslike comradely atmosphere the sides had an indepth exchange of opinion on a broad range of questions of mutual interest. They informed each other on the course of implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and preparations for the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

While exchanging opinion on international problems, the sides pointed out that the policy of peace and cooperation among states pursued by the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic jointly with the socialist countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty Organization was making an exceptionally important contribution to easing world tensions, ensuring peace and security for all nations, curbing the arms race and promoting disarmament. This peace policy is embodied in practice in the documents of the supreme forum of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the Political Consultative Committee, which contain proposals on many pressing questions of ensuring European security, on measures of containing the arms race and promoting disarmament, and on ways to lessen and eliminate tensions in such explosive regions of the world as the Near and Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, the Far East, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

"The USSR and the PPR are strongly opposed to the activities of the imperialist and hegemonistic circles seeking to destroy the foundations of detente and to pursue in state-to-state relations a policy of brute force, diktat and intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign countries.

"Both sides laid stress on the special importance of the extended program for improving the international situation and strengthening security that was put forward by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. These foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union, which have been understood and supported by all peace champions, clearly indicate the realistic way to overcome political and military tensions that have lately emerged as a consequence of the dangerous activities of the aggressive imperialist forces.

"A fresh urge for vigorous actions in the name of peace and international security has been voiced in the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet 'To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World'. This appeal is evoking a special response and understanding among the peoples of the countries which paid a dear price for victory over the fascist aggressors in World War II. This is illustrated by the decision of the PPR Sejm on this question. Great possibilities are available to the forces which are opposed to imperialist reaction and militarism. They should be set in full motion, and this should be done without delay.

"The Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic express their resolve to continue following the road charted by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"They advocate the observance of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki at the summit level."

"Both sides confirmed the desirability of ending the Madrid meeting with substantive positive agreements as regards the further implementation of the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. A particularly important role would be played by the adoption in Madrid of the decision to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, which should first of all concern itself with measures to build confidence in the military field. In this context much importance is attached to the readiness displayed by the Soviet Union to apply confidence measures to the entire European USSR on the condition that the Western states extend the confidence zone accordingly.

"The USSR and the PPR advocate the resumption of the talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe on the basis of observing the principle of equality and equal security of the sides and condemn the attempts made by certain NATO circles to thwart the equilibrium existing in Europe by deploying new U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe."
[paragraph continues]

They believe that the placing of a moratorium already today on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear systems in Europe by the NATO countries and the USSR, as the Soviet Union proposes, would facilitate negotiations on this problem.

"Invariably advocating the establishment of non-nuclear zones in various parts of the world, the Soviet Union and Poland voice their positive attitude, in particular, to the idea of turning northern Europe into a non-nuclear zone.

"They also would like the Mediterranean, a region of military and political confrontations, to become a zone of stable peace and cooperation.

"The Soviet Union and the PPR support the Arab peoples in their struggle against the Israeli aggression and for a comprehensive Middle East settlement on a just and stable basis. This settlement should provide for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and guarantee the legitimate rights and security of all states and peoples in the region, including the right of the Arab people of Palestine to establish their own independent state. Much attention was paid in the course of the exchange of opinion to the Soviet Union's proposal on ensuring peace and security in the Persian Gulf area and to the joint efforts of the socialist and nonaligned countries in the struggle for establishing a peace zone in the Indian Ocean. The PPR supports this proposal.

"The USSR and the PPR have confirmed anew their principled position in favour of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan in accordance with the well-known proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan made on May 14, 1980. The settlement of the international aspects of the Afghan problem can only be achieved through ending the aggressive activities conducted against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan from outside and through ensuring guarantees against the resumption of such activities, which could help resolve the question of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops staying in Afghanistan at the request of its government.

"The enemies of socialism and the proponents of the militarist course in international affairs are whipping up the 'Soviet military threat' ballyhoo in a bid to camouflage their striving to change the existing balance of world forces, to revise the post-war realities in Europe and to secure the military superiority of the U.S. and the NATO bloc as a whole over the socialist countries.

"The Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic resolutely denounce these plans and confirm that the socialist states participating in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation will be doing everything necessary to maintain their defence capability at a proper level, and will take legitimate care about their security.

"Together with the other fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union and the PPR are firmly standing and will continue standing guard over the inviolability of the borders of socialist states in Europe as they are sealed by the relevant treaties and agreements of the post-war period.

"Intensifying their hostile campaign against the socialist countries, certain Western circles are trying particularly hard to exploit the events in Poland in order to discredit the socialist system and the ideals and principles of socialism.

"They hope that the developments in Poland would lead to a change in the balance of forces in Europe and in the world at large, and to the weakening of the socialist community. The PPR resolutely rejects such hopes. Poland was, is and will continue to be a firm link of the socialist community.

"The defence of the gains of socialism in the Polish People's Republic is inseparable from the questions of independence and sovereignty of the Polish state and from the security and inviolability of its borders. These questions not only affect Poland but are vitally important to the entire socialist community.

"The USSR and the PPR confirm their unflinching resolve to strengthen unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries.

"They will continue vigorously to facilitate effective cooperation between the countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and to give a befitting rebuff to any attempts of imperialism to carry out ideological and other acts of subversion against the socialist states.

"The Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic will continue extending bilateral relations in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the USSR and the PPR.

"The sides have confirmed that the unbreakable alliance, fraternal friendship and cooperation and also the all-round development of relations between the CPSU and the PUWP and the USSR and the PPR based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism fully meet the vital interests of the Soviet and Polish peoples, their security and the building of socialism and communism".

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1700 GMT on 5 July broadcasts the text of the joint Polish-Soviet communique issued today following Andrey Gromyko's visit to Poland. The Warsaw Polish version has been compared to the TASS version and found to be identical.]

Departure From Warsaw

LD051208 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1107 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jul,(TASS)--A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign affairs minister, who was here on a short friendly visit at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, left Warsaw for Moscow today.

At Warsaw's Okecie Airport, he was seen off by S. Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; J. Waszczuk, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; J. Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee and foreign affairs minister of the Polish People's Republic; and other officials. Among those seeing him off was B.I. Aristov, Soviet ambassador to the Polish People's Republic.

Return to Moscow

LD051250 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jul, TASS--Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, has returned from Warsaw to Moscow today. He paid a short friendly visit to the Polish capital at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

At the airport he was met by Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; Rusakov, CPSU Central Committee Secretary; and other officials.

Polish Reportage

For Warsaw media coverage of the arrival and visit to Poland by Andrey Gromyko, see the Poland section of the 6 July Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT.

IZVESTIYA EXAMINES POLISH BRANCH TU SITUATION

PM021247 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jul 81 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Druzenko "Letter From Warsaw": "Realism and Responsibility"]

[Text] Not long ago a new "information bulletin" was delivered to the IZVESTIYA press center in Warsaw along with the regular mail. It is published by the "industrial branch trade unions' [BZZ] workers information agency." It was interesting if only because the Warsaw papers are fairly sparing in their coverage of the BZZ activity. That was why, in fact, the new agency was set up.

If you leaf through the bulletin and examine the problems which the activists are preoccupied with solving you see that the BZZ is upholding the vital interests of working people relating to their daily work, life and leisure. A document prepared by the BZZ Coordinating Committee clearly states this position, obviously contesting other current views of the place and role of the trade unions. It says, in particular: "We disclaim the one-sided 'demand-monitor-call the government to account' formula (advanced by the Solidarity leadership--A.D.) as conflicting with the interests of the Polish people and state." Instead the BZZ propose the formula: "Implement working people's rights but, at the same time, participate in establishing a government and trade union action program. Monitor but, at the same time, participate in the implementation of of the program. Criticize but, at the same time, share the responsibility for the implementation of the program."

BZZ activists are having to uphold this position in the difficult conditions of the division of the trade union movement.

The wave of working people's mass discontent which swept the country in August 1980 was accompanied by extremely fierce criticism of the trade unions and their leading organs, partly fair and partly undeserved. The mood, which, incidentally, was skillfully fostered, was dominated by the idea that there can be no going back to the "old"--as they were called then--trade unions. Solidarity's popularity grew--not entirely spontaneously either--and it became the main hope for a better future. At that most difficult stage the people from the former trade unions felt utterly confused. What is going to happen, what do we do?

At the same time, there was a growing need for cohesion among those who had remained in the BZZ (which announced their withdrawal from the Central Trade Union Council, subsequently disbanded). This was publicly stated at the end of September at an all-Polish meeting of BZZ representatives. Remember the packed hall of the capital's Gwardia sports club, the excitement and determination on the faces of the audience and the snappy slogans above the presidium table: "The people's state is not capitalist property!" "Yes to genuine people's power." Placards suspended above the rows bore the traditional emblems of the trade unions--railroad workers, metal workers, textile workers, communication workers--and the debates were passionate. I recall the ovation after a speaker said: "Why have we started addressing one another as 'colleague'? I address you, as before, as 'comrades'. This form of address is symbolic of our worker solidarity and we have no reason to be ashamed of it." Another speaker said: "One paper called us a former trade union. Who gave it that right? We are not a former trade union. We have been, are and will continue to be essential to the working class. We have traditions which people do not forget."

"We are focusing efforts," I was told by Albin Szyszka, chairman of the BZZ Coordinating Commission, during a recent meeting, "on the protection of workers' and trade union members' genuine interests. We interpret them broadly, on a long-term basis and not just as purely economic interests. We take into account the entire complex of problems relating to working people's labor, life and leisure. Second, organizational strengthening. The report and election campaign in the BZZ has practically finished.

There have been considerable cadre changes in the course of democratic elections. New, young and energetic activists have come in. The combination of their enthusiasm and the experience of seasoned figures is having an effect, imbuing our activity with vigor and purposefulness. Third, work has assumed more of a social character; it is based on trade union members' initiative. For example, the coordinating commissions are very active in comprehensively examining problems of concern to the various professional groups: labor conditions, the incentive system, safety measures, everyday life, culture, leisure and so forth. All this has helped to stabilize trade union ranks."

The organizational formative process came to its logical conclusion on 19 June when the Warsaw Voivodship Court registered the charter of the BZZ Coordinating Commission. It stresses that the Coordinating Commission's main task is to protect working people's interests. The commission bases its activity on the class revolutionary traditions of the Polish trade union movement. The charter points out that the coordinating commission advocates social ownership of the means of production and acknowledges the leading role of the PZPR and the international alliances of People's Poland.

It is important to note that even before the registration of the charter the BZZ activists were firmly championing the principles stated in it. The difficult path they have trodden over the months of crisis, their growing activeness, the realistic nature of the goals they have set and their persistence in achieving them--all this engenders respect in collectives.

The "workers information agency" has published figures on the numerical strength of the BZZ. According to the figures, there were more than 13.7 million in the Polish trade unions on 30 June last year. On 30 April this year the BZZ had around 5 million members.

The reasons for the loss of members are mentioned above. It must be reemphasized that the authority of the BZZ has lately shown signs of strengthening. The explanation is simple: The BZZ is busy with everyday matters. Recently (Malgorzata Rosecka), party committee secretary at Poland's well-known (Kora) sewn goods combine, told me about this. The majority of the collective is in Solidarity, the minority is in the BZZ of Textile, Sewn Goods and Leather Industry Workers. The BZZ activists are engaged in traditional trade union business. For example, during the current vacation period a lot is being done to organize recreation for the whole collective. This is duly appreciated. There are cases, (M. Rosecka) noted, of people leaving Solidarity and going back to the BZZ.

I must explain that these are only isolated instances. We cannot talk of a mass phenomenon or established trend. But there is not disputing the fact that, by concentrating on purely trade union work, the BZZ are strengthening their positions.

Mutual relations between the different structures in the trade union movement are a substantial problem. In this connection Albin Szyszka said:

"Where it is a matter of solving economic, social and everyday questions cooperation has been established in many cases in plant collectives, although there are cases of fairly acute disagreements. As for our ideological disagreements with Solidarity, there can be no compromise. We want to see the necessary changes in social and economic life, but only in accordance with socialist principles. We oppose the consumerist attitude toward the state, the idea that one merely demands of the state without giving anything in return. We advocate broad and conscious participation by working people in the process of socialist transformations. Working people have built and will continue to build socialism in Poland."

SEJM APPROVES SUPREME SOVIET DISARMAMENT APPEAL

LD031456 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jul, TASS--The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic fully supports the USSR Supreme Soviet's appeal to the parliaments and peoples of the world. A resolution adopted unanimously by the Sejm today says that this is a new proof of the Soviet Union's consistent peace-loving foreign policy.

The USSR Supreme Soviet's appeal, adopted on the 40th anniversary of the treacherous attack by Hitler's Germany on the USSR, brings to memory the heroic struggle of the Soviet people who made the greatest sacrifices and were the main force that defeated fascism. The Polish people, destined by Hitler's butchers to extermination, will always remember the joint struggle of Soviet and Polish soldiers for the liberation of their country and for peaceful conditions of development within the frontiers along the Oder, the Neisse and the Baltic.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, the resolution says, wholeheartedly shares the conviction, voiced in the appeal, that the main issue of today is to start talks as soon as possible and without any precondition in order to prevent a new stage in the nuclear missile arms race. This race may lead to dangerous irreversible consequences threatening all European states without exception. The Sejm believes that starting talks between the USSR and the United States is especially urgent. The proposals recently set forth by Leonid Brezhnev provide a good basis for such talks.

Socialist Poland reaffirms its decision to cooperate with the Soviet Union and all socialist countries in the implementation of the disarmament and detente promotion programme adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress.

POLAND'S ZBIGNIEW MADEJ ADDRESSES SEJM ON ECONOMY

LD031056 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Jul, TASS--Zbigniew Madej, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, spoke at a session of the Sejm to inform the delegates about the economic situation and the need to revise the economic development targets and state budget of Poland for 1981. He explained this need by the consequences of the crisis in the country. It may be said even today that last January alone the volume of industrial output shrank by 10 percent and last May by 18 percent. The trend for reducing production will continue in the remaining months of this year, and the national income is expected to reduce as compared with last year.

Zbigniew Madej named the tightening of the economy regime in raw materials to the point of closing down production units which were particularly intensive from the point of view of raw materials; the expansion of coal output; control over inflation processes; and other methods as the highlights of the programme for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy.

Zbigniew Madej pointed out that it was necessary to raise prices and stressed that the government knew that price rises were unpopular. However, the situation in the country made price rises a lesser evil in comparison with rapidly escalating disorganisation on the market.

It is still an urgent task to improve the situation in foreign trade, he said. Export earnings are not enough to repay foreign debts and ensure essential imports.

At present, Zbigniew Madej said, it is hard to say when the crisis will be overcome. According to him, the country will need three years to achieve the pre-crisis level in agricultural production, three to four years in industrial production and five to six years in the national income. It is not before the beginning of the next five-year period that Poland's foreign debts can be expected to begin diminishing.

REPORTAGE ON TIKHONOV'S VISIT TO BULGARIA

Talks With Zhivkov

LD051740 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul, TASS--Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who is paying a working friendly visit to Bulgaria on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, met today Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the PRB.

In the course of their talk, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, Nikolay Tikhonov and Todor Zhivkov exchanged information about the activities of the two fraternal parties in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 12th BCP Congress, which had set new targets in building communism in the USSR and developed socialism in Bulgaria.

The sides discussed in the spirit of mutual understanding and complete accord the problems of further extension and deepening of relations of fraternal friendship between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. They stressed that the development of these relations was fully in accord with the agreements reached between Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the PRB, on all-round cooperation and drawing closer together between the USSR and the PRB.

Both sides spoke highly of the results of Bulgarian-Soviet economic, scientific and technical cooperation. They pointed out that the growing economic contacts between the two countries that are embodied in the continuous expansion of their mutual trade, in the comprehensive development of collaboration, specialisation and cooperation in production and in the extending practice of concluding long-term economic agreements, are effectively contributing to the solution of major national economic problems facing the USSR and the PRB.

During an exchange of opinion on the outstanding international problems, Todor Zhivkov said that Bulgaria fully supported the new peace proposals put forth at the 26th CPSU Congress and would do everything possible for their implementation. The sides stressed the exceptionally important role of Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the appeal "To Parliaments and Peoples of the World," which would facilitate the consolidation of the peace forces and the further invigoration of the people's efforts in countering the arm race and removing the threat of world war.

The sides reaffirmed the resolve of the USSR and the PRB in the context of the present aggravation of the international situation, caused by the activities of the more aggressive forces of imperialism, to counter this dangerous course with a policy aimed at improving the international climate and preserving and strengthening detente.

Nikolay Tikhonov and Todor Zhivkov expressed the unflinching striving of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria to tirelessly build up unity, unbreakable alliance and internationalist cohesion of the socialist community, which consistently advocates the safeguarding and comprehensive strengthening of peace and international security and the development of mutually beneficial and equal cooperation between all states.

Tikhonov, Baybakov Given Award

LD051731 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 5 Jul, TASS--Today Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, presented the Georgi Dimitrov Order to Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Nikolay Tikhonov has been decorated with the highest dinstinction of socialist Bulgaria for his great contribution to the development of fraternal friendship and economic cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR.

Todor Zhivkov made a speech upon the presentation of the order, cordially congratulating the Soviet head of government upon the award and conveying to him heartfelt wishes from the communists and all the other working people of the republic.

He recalled that quite recently the Bulgarian people had marked the 99th birth anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov, their great son, a staunch Marxist-Leninist, and genuine patriot and proletarian internationalist. Dimitrov was one of the ardent advocates of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and its inspired builder. Today this fraternal friendship and comprehensive drawing closer together constitute the sound foundation of relations between our countries and peoples, between the workers of People's Bulgaria and the USSR.

In a reply speech, Nikolay Tikhonov expressed profound gratitude to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the high decoration.

I regard today's moving event, he said, above all as a recognition of the great contribution that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is making to the further extension of genuinely fraternal relations between our parties and the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples and to the great cause of strengthening the positions of socialism. The Bulgarian and Soviet communists are jointly doing this work.

Following Georgi Dimitrov's behests, the Bulgarian Communist Party has won outstanding victories, Nikolay Tikhonov said. Under its leadership the Bulgarian working people are now successfully coping with the tasks of building developed socialist society and confidently marching along the road towards communism.

It is our belief, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR said, that the Soviet and Bulgarian people side by side with the peoples of other socialist countries will achieve fresh successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the 26th CPSU Congress and in the struggle for ensuring a lasting peace.

Todor Zhivkov also presented Bulgaria's highest distinction, the Georgi Dimitrov Order, to Nikolay Baybakov, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON BRANDT VISIT TO MOSCOW

PRAVDA Carries Brandt Speech

PM030854 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 81 p 2

[Text of speech delivered by W. Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, at 30 June Kremlin Dinner]

[Text] Mr General Secretary:

First of all I would like to thank you for your invitation, which gives me the opportunity to be your guest today. I myself, my friend Hans-Juergen Wischnewski [Deputy Chairman of the SPD] and our colleagues thank you for the friendly reception accorded to us. We also express our gratitude to the FRG ambassador, who I hope will continue to do useful work in the interests of relations between our two states.

Mr General Secretary: It is good to be able to hold a frank and active dialogue with each other at a difficult time. I have already spoken to you of this and I wish to stress here that I, like most of my political friends, my compatriots and many other people in our part of Europe, am profoundly concerned about the present international situation, concerned at the continuing dangerous spiralling of arms and at the threat which hangs over mankind's very destiny.

I thank you for the talks, whose nature was in accordance with the serious nature of the situation and with our common--though by no means identical--responsibility. The nature of the talks was in any case in accordance with our joint responsibility for peace in Europe, and also--and here our objectively different responsibilities are manifested to a still greater degree--elsewhere in the world. The purpose of our visit is to obtain information and as far as possible to convey information. What has been said to me here will be received with attention at home and will be pondered. It would be surprising if we had not noted differences of opinion on a number of important questions. It is all the more important, therefore, to prevent the emergence of misunderstandings through an inadequate exchange of opinions, which could further complicate bilateral or multilateral relations.

The more so as complete accord exists between us on the most important question--the question of preserving peace. I think we have committed ourselves in this respect by treaty and by conviction. And it would not occur to me to depart one iota from what I said here on 12 August 1970. And the greetings message which I have conveyed to you from Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is a reaffirmation of what he himself said to you: We want to be a good neighbor, and we want to ensure that war never starts again on German soil. In our opinion not all that has been said in recent weeks is correct or just. I ask you to believe me when I say that we too have not forgotten the terrible significance of 22 June 1941 and have learned our lessons from the past.

I bow my head in grief before the millions of people who experienced [word illegible] sufferings because of the war unleashed by Hitler.

I am not here to hold talks instead of someone else. And in any case I am not here to speak on behalf of the United States. But there is no doubt that a meeting between the top leaders of the USSR and the United States would be of very great significance for people throughout the world. And I believe that the world should not be made to wait too long for this.

The treaty between us is more than 10 years old. We have added to it treaties with Poland, the GDR and the CSSR. In September it will be 10 years since the conclusion of the four-power agreement on Berlin (West). The path we chose was the correct one, and I can only advise that we do not jeopardize what has already been achieved and that we draw greater benefit from the treaties concluded.

Economic cooperation between our two states has advanced successfully. But I share your opinion on the need to utilize the reserves which still exist on both sides. You and I know that some things have not developed as we would have wished. When you and I, Mr General Secretary, held talks in the early seventies and when the two world powers achieved important agreements, we glimpsed heartening prospects for the relaxation of tension, the development of cooperation and the strengthening of security in Europe.

It was a very great disappointment for many people—including people far beyond the bounds of the Federal Republic--that political detente did not lead to detente in the military sphere. Now we are facing the complex task of putting detente back on a firm footing. After all, without military detente, political detente will not survive, just as there will be no effective military agreements without political cooperation and mutual trust. The danger then arises that the eighties will end badly. The question arises--and it applies more to the world powers than to other countries--whether politics will regain its rights or capitulate to arms technology.

Our aim must be--as was jointly noted during your visit to the Federal Republic in Spring 1978--to achieve approximate equilibrium in the arms sphere at the lowest possible level without detriment to either side's security. I have already told you, Mr General Secretary, and I would like to stress once again, that we advocate talks with a view to making any arms upgrading an unnecessary means of correcting any arming which outstrips the other side [operezhayusheye vooruzheniye]. We in the FRG and elsewhere in Western Europe have a lively interest in the successful completion of the Madrid talks.

After all, it is important that the process which began in Helsinki continue to develop and that the path to a special conference on the problems of disarmament in Europe be open--realistically and seriously open, on the basis of an agreed mandate. I do not want to go into detail now about the various questions relating to world politics and the situation in regions of crisis. We were able to discuss some of these questions. Permit me to express the hope that you and I will remain in contact, in particularly on problems which concern relations with developing countries. In principle, I think we are agreed that world armaments must also be curbed because otherwise it will be impossible to overcome the hunger which exists in the world. Permit me, in conclusion, to express in the most pressing way our serious wish to see you, Mr General Secretary, this year--in November, as we have learned--in the FRG. I know I can say the same for the federal chancellor and vice chancellor. This wish goes far beyond the bounds of particular parties. I think it is important not only to our two states. It could also be an important factor in promoting the process of talks in the interests of international peace.

Brandt Press Conference

LD021830 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jul (TASS)--There are good opportunities for the further development of bilateral relations between the FRG and the USSR. We are awaiting with great hopes the visit to the Federal Republic by Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This was stated in Moscow today at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists given by Willy Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD].

At the center of our talks in Moscow, Willy Brandt said, were the problems of curbing the arms race and strengthening peace. There is currently no more responsible task than to deliver people from the horrors of nuclear war.

In the press reports on the talks the word "trust" [doveriye] is being used. Yes, they took place in an atmosphere of frankness and trust. Without a certain degree of trust it is impossible to cope with difficult, very difficult questions. Frankness is necessary since it is in keeping with the complexity of the problems being solved.

I would like to express words of gratitude to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the other Soviet leaders who had meetings with us, and to thank those that secured this visit. It has been informative [On nosil informatsionnyy khrakter]. In the next few days in the FRG we shall sum up the results of the visit and discuss what tasks stem from it. We shall discuss these questions with our government and with our friends, and not only in the FRG.

Giving his impressions of the speech by Leonid Brezhnev at the Kremlin dinner, the chairman of the SPD said that it contained a number of important points. The most important one for us, Willy Brandt emphasized, is the one made by the general secretary about the possibility of talks on medium-range missiles in Europe, about the contribution the Soviet Union could make, and about what it expects from other countries.

Willy Brandt dwelt on the role of the SPD in solving the problems of detente and disarmament. He said that it was most important to put forward a European initiative on disarmament and for there to be measures for strengthening trust. We think that the Vienna talks on the limitation of armed forces and arms in central Europe should continue.

The chairman of the SPD dwelt on Soviet initiatives for strengthening peace and international security. He said we followed with great attention the work of the 26th CPSU Congress. In the talks which we have had here we fully took into account the proposals on European security problems which were contained in the report of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. We consider that the process of negotiations between the great powers should be started. The SPD chairman expressed the hope that representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States will meet in the near future. Willy Brandt went on to say that as many responsible people as possible in all parts of the world, both in the West and in the East and in neutral countries, must realize that political and economic cooperation cannot survive if an appropriate solution is not found in the field of limiting the armaments race.

I am in no doubt whatsoever, Willy Brandt stressed, that the leaders of the USSR, and above all Leonid Brezhnev, want what they are talking about. But this is not realized everywhere. This does not mean that I agree completely with every step taken in Soviet foreign policy of recent years. But I say to my fellow-countrymen and to all who are willing to listen to me that in the USSR they are dealing with people who are striving for the preservation of peace and who are taking corresponding steps to that end.

The SPD chairman noted the great importance for detente of the treaties concluded by the FRG with the USSR, the Polish Peoples' Republic, the GDR and the CSSR, of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin and the agreements concluded at one time between the USSR and the United States.

I do not consider, Willy Brandt noted, that all this has lostits significance. We have amassed experience in the field of easing tension and in the development of political and cultural exchanges. But this is not enough. For me, detente primarily means a strengthening of the elements of security in the military sphere and the prevention of an uncontrolled development of events in the future.

I have not been to Moscow for 6 years, Willy Brandt said in conclusion, and I have noticed how much in the town has changed and how much has been built. This creates an impression. I wish Moscow, Muscovites and all citizens of the Soviet Union all the best.

Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, deputy chairman of the SPD, took part in the press conference.

DPA Report

LD021116 Hamburg DPA in German 0939 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jul (DPA)--Prior to his return from Moscow, SPD Chairman Willy Brandt reiterated in the Soviet capital that Poland must cope with its problems alone. At an international news conference today, Brandt added that following his talks with the Soviet leaders he sees no reason for having to return with a feeling of "particular concern."

Leonid Brezhnev had unexpectedly arranged a second talk with the SPD chairman to take place immediately prior to Brandt's departure early this afternoon.

At the news conference Brandt stated that in the course of the visit he received clarifying statements from the Soviet side about the proposal for a moratorium on medium-range missiles repeated by Brezhnev in a dinner speech. He said that he first wants to brief the Federal Government and the allies on these statements.

He said he finds the wording of the proposal, whose "text is new," interesting because it concentrates on freezing the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe upon the commencement of American-Soviet negotiations on their limitation. In the original wording at the Soviet party congress in February, Brezhnev proposed that with the beginning of negotiations both sides halt "all preparations for deployment" in Europe."

Brandt, Brezhnev Interview

DW030941 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 1800 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Reporters Brand and Bednarz interview with SPD Chairman Willy Brandt and CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow, Brezhnev answers in Russian with subsequent translation--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Soviet officials indicated last night that SPD chairman's comments will not be disregarded in Moscow. According to information gathered from delegation circles, it was not so much the Soviet moratorium suggestions which were discussed, but the deeper problem how to achieve the so-called zero solution.

[Brandt] I have maintained great restraint, and I would advise everybody not to make rash judgements. Matters are too serious for that. We have received several interpretations, and I have just heard from the general secretary that this morning the Politburo discussed the problems we have brought up, and that it commissioned the Foreign as well as Defense Ministry to work on these problems. In other words: We, that is our government, will receive additional information. I do not want to interpret this in any effusive way, but I would also advise everybody else not to jump to conclusions.

[Question] Is the zero solution involved?

[Brandt] One can put it that way. The question is: What can be done here to prevent something from happening elsewhere?

[Question] Did the Soviets make concrete offers?

[Brandt] I do not want to go into detail.

[Question] Will you take a message back to the federal chancellor?

[Answer] It can be called a message.

[Question] Mr Brezhnev, how do you assess the results of the visit?

[Brezhnev] Positively.

[Question] And what was most important for you with regards to this visit?

[Brezhnev] The visit itself.

Brezhnev Sees Brandt Off

LD021305 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Willy Brandt, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party today left Moscow for home. He arrived in the Soviet Union on Monday at the invitation of Leonid Brezhnev.

Willy Brandt was seen off at the airport by Leonid Brezhnev, Andrey Gromyko and Boris Ponomarev, and also by CPSU Central Committee member Zagladin; also by CPSU Central Committee candidate members Chernayev and Poplavskiy, and other officials. Among the seeing-off party was FRG Ambassador in the USSR Meyer-Landrut.

Asked by correspondents, Leonid Brezhnev described the results of Willy Brandt's visit to the USSR as positive.

Serov Commentary

LD021506 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 2 Jul 81

[TASS political news analyst Vladimir Serov: "There Is No Reasonable Alternative to Negotiations"]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jul, TASS--Negotiations are the only and reliable way of resolving disputable international problems. These should not be formal negotiations, but serious, and substantial, based on a real interest in attaining positive results and the readiness of the sides to make their own contribution to meet the principle of equality and undiminished security. This is one of the main conclusions, drawn by the leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state Leonid Brezhnev and the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Chairman of the Socialist International Willy Brandt, in the course of their Kremlin meeting.

This conclusion is quite obvious. There is no reasonable alternative to negotiations, to dialogue. Can the alternative of revival of the "cold war", unrestrained arms race, mankind's sliding into the abyss of a nuclear holocaust be acceptable for any sober-minded person?

It is not accidential that Leonid Brezhnev and Willy Brandt emphasize that these should be serious negotiations, in which both sides are interested, and which are based on the principle of equality and undiminished security. The matter is that certain circles in the United States, which are not interested in such negotiations and which seek to attain military superiority over the USSR, are engaged only in empty talk about negotiations in order to pacify the public and the allies.

The chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, who at the turn of the 1960's-1970's, while chancellor of the FRG, was at the source of detente and made a major contribution to the turn from "cold war" to recovery of the international political climate, understands well the importance and the value of an equitable dialogue when the sides are permeated with the sincere desire to attain positive results.

Exactly such a striving and good will from both sides led Soviet-West German negotiations at that time to fruitful results, which gave a powerful impetus to the process of detente in Europe.

In the Soviet Union's opinion, the solution of the most important question for mankind that of ending the arms race in the present-day situation should be started from limitation of the nuclear race in Europe. Meanwhile, the United States, pressing for deployment on the continent of 572 additional medium-range nuclear missiles, is violating the existing approximate equilibrium of forces, not only on the Eurostrategic, but also on a higher-strategic level. While the building up approximately 50 percent of its Eurostrategic nuclear potential, the United States thereby substantially adds to its strategic potential, since for the Soviet Union American Euromissiles are the first strike strategic weapon.

Is it not clear, considering the above-mentioned, that serious businesslike negotiations on the basis of the principle of equality, but not the pursuit of illusion of military superiority, are the call of time, the pressing need for mankind?

FRG Papers on Brandt Visit

LD031120 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Bonn, 3 Jul, TASS--"The Soviet Union wants to set into motion the mechanism of disarmament talks," the West German newspaper KOELNER STADT-ANZEIGER writes today, commenting on Willy Brandt's visit to the Soviet Union. "One indication of this," the newspaper says, "is the interest shown clearly by the Soviet Union in resuming the SALT-II process and an immediate subsequent transition on the SALT-III, that is to global strategic arms limitation." The newspaper says that "the West should weigh on golden scales the results of Willy Brandt's meetings in Moscow."

FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU says in its commentary that "Willy Brandt's visit has done good to somewhat cooled relations between the USSR and the FRG. This alone is of value in a world which is facing a growing danger. It is only those who always try to picture situations only in black or in white that question the usefulness of frank talks."

In the opinion of the Bonn newspaper GENERAL-ANZEIGER "the talks in Moscow were about an absolutely new, not yet written, page in the history of disarmament talks."

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE stresses: "Willy Brandt is convinced that the Soviet Union wants peace and talks. At the same time the Russians 'strongly doubt' the Americans' willingness to have talks."

A commentator of the second programme of West German ZDF television said: "It is now clear that Willy Brandt's visit was of great importance and it was possible even more important than was expected by those who from the very outset believed in its favourable outcome."

LORD CARRINGTON ARRIVES IN MOSCOW ON 5 JUL

LD051806 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jul, TASS--Today Lord Carrington, Britain's secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, has arrived in Moscow on a working visit.

At the airport the visitor was met by Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and other officials.

The welcoming party included Sir Curtis Keeble, Britain's Ambassador to the USSR.

IRANIAN PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR KILLED ON 6 JULY

LD060918 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 6 Jul 81

[Text] Tehran, 6 Jul, TASS--The governor of the northern Iranian Province of Gilan, A. Akhavein-Ansari, was shot dead in the city of Rasht in the morning today. One of his aides was seriously wounded in the same attack. The assassins fled.

MAJLIS APPROVES APPOINTMENT OF FOREIGN MINISTER

LD051402 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] Tehran, 5 Jul, TASS--Iran's Majlis (parliament) today approved by a majority vote the proposal of Prime Minister M.A. Raja'i and Iran's Provisional Presidential Council on appointing Husayn Musavi as the country's new foreign minister. He is member of the Central Council of the ruling Islamic Republican Party and editor-in-chief of the party's Islamic Republic newspaper.

IRANIAN PAPER REPORTS ON U.S. COMPLICITY CITED

LD021721 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Tehran, 2 Jul, TASS--An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman made an official statement to the newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI concerning Washington officials' denial of U.S. involvement in the act of terrorism in Tehran. He said: "America is lying. We have data that the U.S. helps counter-revolutionary groups. There are grounds to believe that the office for the coordination of the people with the President has ties with Mafia, too. Apart from setting up hostile groups abroad, the American Central Intelligence Agency is organising counter-revolutionaries inside Iran in one network."

It has been noted here that the United States has attempted to play up the idea that the Soviet Union could profit by the more complicated situation in Iran and strengthen its positions in the region. This idea is believed to serve as camouflage for U.S. involvement in the physical extermination of Beheshti, one of the leaders of the ruling Islamic Republican Party. His liquidation was part of Washington's plans because it objectively contributed to the weakening of the Khomeyni regime. Beheshti was one of the most ardent advocates of an anti-imperialist and anti-American course. He called for getting rid of American domination in the country. The U.S. administration expects that it will succeed in removing the Islamic Republican Party from power after Beheshti's death.

Meanwhile, the new General Secretary of the Islamic Republican Party Mohammad Javad Bahonar pointed out again at a press conference that U.S. agents were responsible for the explosion in the IRP headquarters, in which Beheshti was killed. He said that the Iranian leadership had documents confirming involvement of American spies in this crime. Bahonar reported the arrest of 50 persons suspected of having organized the explosion.

Some new appointments have been announced here. The son of Ayatollah Khomeyni stated that the chief of the Tehran officers school, Colonel Seyyed Mussa Namjui had been appointed the new representative of the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Supreme Defence Council. His predecessor Mostapha Chamran was killed several days ago in the course of fighting on the Iranian-Iraqi border. Iran's Ministry of the Interior said that registration of candidates for the post of president would be started on July 4 and last for three days.

LEVCHENKO SEES CIA HAND IN TEHRAN BOMBING

LD060156 Moscow in English to South and Southeast Asia 1400 GMT 5 Jul 81

[Text] The terrorist act at the Tehran headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party, where as a result of a very strong explosion 74 religious, government and political leaders died, has caused great outrage around the world. This crime, writes our commentator Leonid Levchenko, had a long aim. It was intended to behead the nation and to subvert the Iranian revolution in that way. Few Iranians have doubts that the atrocity was committed with direct involvement of the U.S. CIA agents and their local underlings. Amid the general outcry against the subversive activities of the United States and of the counterrevolutionaries it backs, there was a Majlis meeting in Iran. Mohammad Javad Bahonar, who was elected the general secretary of the Islamic Republican Party, said at a news conference in Tehran that the Iranian leaders have documents at their disposal that prove the involvement of American spies in that crime.

Everything seems to indicate that the explosion of the Islamic Republican Party should have served as the go-ahead signal for actions by counterrevolutionary forces against the regime all over the country. It was noted, for one, that in the past few (?days) there were disturbances in Isfahan, Zahedan and Shiraz. Attacks were made on administrative centers there appeared antigovernment leaflets calling for an uprising. In this connection, the Iranian authorities took strong action to protect government agencies, industrial facilities and bridges.

Washinton is making it appear that it had nothing to do with the act of terrorism in Tehran. Refuting such claims, a spokesman for the Iranian Foreign Ministry told the newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI that the CIA is not only forming hostile groups abroad, but is also organizing counterrevolutionaries inside Iran into a single network. Speaking to families of the men killed in the explosion at the headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party, the Iranian revolution leader Ayatollah Khomeyni urged the people to expose and curb the designs of American agents. The Iranian people, the Ayatollah said, should not forget they are in a state of war against the United States.

Some reminders of that for the Iranians are the tens of American warships cruising right off the Iranian coast, as well as the actions by the Washington administration to destabilize the situation in that country. In view of the latest events in Iran, the United States is trying to give the picture that the Soviet Union could use the complication of the situation in Iran. Dealing a rebuff to these insinuations, Ayatollah Khomeyni said the United States is raising the Soviet Union issue in order to distract the Iranian peoples' attention from the need to fight American imperialism. However, the people of Iran are determined to protect their gains. Confirmation of this are the mighty American [as heard] demonstrations that have swept the nation.

USSR, IRAQ SIGN TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER CONTRACT

LD031512 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Baghdad, 3 Jul (TASS)--The Soviet foreign trade association Prommashexport and the State Post, Telegraph and Telephone Organisation of the Ministry of Transport and Communications of Iraq have signed a contract for the delivery of Soviet technology for an Iraqi land-based space communications station. This will make it possible for the station to join the international system Intersputnik . Iraq will be able to establish reliable telephone, telegraph, facsimile and telecode communications with countries covered by the Intersputnik system as well as exchange tv and radio programs with them.

LEONID BREZHNEV LEAVES MOSCOW FOR 'VACATION'

LD030650 Moscow TASS in English 0644 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jul, TASS--Today Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has left Moscow for a vacation. He was seen off at the airfield by members and alternate members of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

TEXT OF SOVIET LAW ON STATUS OF FOREIGNERS

PM031009 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 81 Morning Edition p 2

[Text of "USSR Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR"]

[Text] Kremlin, Moscow, 24 June 1981

I. General Provisions

Article 1. Foreign citizens in the USSR

Persons who are not citizens of the USSR and who have proof of their citizenship of a foreign state are considered foreign citizens in the USSR.

In accordance with the USSR Constitution foreign citizens in the USSR are guaranteed the rights and freedoms provided for by law.

Article 2. Legislation on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR

USSR legislation on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR consists of this law and other acts of USSR legislation defining the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR in accordance with the USSR Constitution.

The legislation of a union republic resolves questions of the legal status of foreign citizens which are placed under its jurisdiction by USSR legislation and the union republic's constitution.

The legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR may also be determined on the basis of the USSR's international treaties.

Article 3. Principles of the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR

Foreign citizens in the USSR enjoy the same rights and freedoms and have the same responsibilities as citizens of the USSR unless stated differently in the USSR Constitution, this law and other acts of Soviet legislation.

Foreign citizens in the USSR are equal before the law, regardless of origin, social and property status, race, nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation and other circumstances.

With regard to citizens of those states in which there are special restrictions on the rights and freedoms of USSR citizens, the USSR Council of Ministers may establish retaliatory restrictions.

The enjoyment of rights and freedoms by foreign citizens in the USSR must not harm the interests of the Soviet society and state or the rights and legitmate interests of USSR citizens and other persons.

Article 4. Obligation to respect the USSR Constitution and to observe Soviet laws

Enjoyment of the rights and freedoms granted to foreign citizens in the USSR is inseparable from their performance of duties established by Soviet legislation.

While in the USSR foreign citizens are obliged to respect the USSR Constitution and to observe Soviet laws and to treat with respect the rules of socialist intercourse and the traditions and customs of the Soviet people.

Article 5. Foreign citizens permanently resident and staying temporarily in the USSR

Foreign citizens may reside permanently in the USSR if they have permission to do so and a residence permit issued by the internal affairs organs.

Foreign citizens who are in the USSR on other legitimate grounds are considered to be staying temporarily in the USSR. They are obliged, in accordance with the established procedure, to register their foreign passports or the documents taking their place and to leave the USSR on the expiry of the time appointed for their stay.

Article 6. Granting of asylum

The USSR and the union republics grant the right of asylum to foreign citizens being persecuted for defending working people's interests and the cause of peace, for membership of the revolutionary and national liberation movement or for progressive sociopolitical, scientific or other creative activity.

The question of granting asylum is decided by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium or the supreme soviet presidium of a union republic.

II. Basic Rights, Freedoms and Duties of Foreign Citizens in the USSR

Article 7. Labor activity

Foreign citizens permanently resident in the USSR may work as workers and employees at enterprises, in establishments or organizations or engage in other labor activity on the basis of and in accordance with the procedure established for USSR citizens.

Foreign citizens staying temporarily in the USSR may engage in labor activity in the USSR if this is compatible with the purposes of their stay in the USSR.

Foreign citizens may not be appointed to individual posts or engage in certain labor activity if, in accordance with Soviet legislation, appointment to these posts or engaging in such activity are associated with having USSR citizenship.

Foreign citizens enjoy rights and have duties in labor relations equally with USSR citizens.

Article 8. Leisure

While in the USSR foreign citizens have the right to leisure on a common basis with USSR citizens.

Article 9. Health protection

While in the USSR, foreign citizens have the right to health protection.

Foreign citizens permanently resident in the USSR enjoy medical assistance equally with USSR citizens.

Medical assistance is rendered to foreign citizens staying temporarily in the USSR in accordance with the procedure established by the USSR Ministry of Health.

Article 10. Social security

Foreign citizens permanently resident in the USSR have the right to receive allowances and pensions and to other forms of social security on a common basis with USSR citizens.

Foreign citizens staying temporarily in the USSR have the right to receive allowances and pensions and to other forms of social security on the basis of and in accordance with the procedure established by USSR legislation.

In cases where a certain length of service is required for pensions to be granted, foreign citizens may include in that service their work abroad on the basis of and in accordance with the procedure established by USSR legislation.

Article 11. Provision of accommodations

Foreign citizens permanently resident in the USSR have the right to use living accomodations in houses of the state and social housing fund and of housebuilding cooperatives on the basis of and in accordance with the procedure established for USSR citizens.

Foreign citizens must treat with care the accommodations afforded them and observe the regulations governing the use of living accommodations.

Article 12. Property and personal nonproperty rights

In accordance with Soviet legislation foreign citizens may have in the USSR a dwelling house and other property in their private possession, inherit and bequeath property and and have the rights of the creator of a work of science, literature or art, a discovery, invention, rationalization proposal or industrial model, as well as other property and personal nonproperty rights.

Article 13. Receipt of education

Foreign citizens in the USSR have the right to receive education equally with USSR citizens in accordance with the procedure established by USSR legislation.

Foreign citizens admitted to Soviet educational institutions have the rights and responsibilities of pupils and students in accordance with Soviet legislation.

Article 14. Enjoyment of cultural achievements

Foreign citizens in the USSR have the right to enjoy cultural achievements equally with USSR citizens.

Foreign citizens in the USSR are obliged to treat with care monuments of history and culture and other cultural assets.

Article 15. Participation in social organizations

Foreign citizens permanently resident in the USSR have the right to join trade unions, cooperative organizations, scientific, cultural and sports societies and other social organizations on a common basis with USSR citizens if this does not contravene the charters (regulations) of those organizations.

Article 16. Freedom of conscience

Freedom of conscience is guaranteed to foreign citizens while in the USSR equally with USSR citizens.

Incitement of enmity and hatred in connection with religious beliefs is prohibited.

Article 17. Matrimonial and family relations

Foreign citizens in the USSR may contract and dissolve marriages with USSR citizens and other persons in accordance with Soviet legislation.

Foreign citizens in the USSR enjoy rights and have responsibilites in matrimonial and family relations equally with USSR citizens.

Article 18. Personal immunity and inviolability of the home

In accordance with Soviet legislation foreign citizens in the USSR are guaranteed personal immunity, inviolability of the home and other personal rights.

Article 19. Movement about the territory of the USSR and choice of place of residence

Foreign citizens may move about the territory of the USSR and choose a place of residence in the USSR in accordance with the procedure established by USSR legislation. Restrictions on movement and on the choice of a place of residence are permissible when this is necessary to ensure state security, to safeguard public order or the health and morals of the population or to protect the rights and legitimate interests of USSR citizens and other persons.

Article 20. Taxes and charges

Taxes and charges are levied on foreign citizens in the USSR on a common basis with USSR citizens, unless stated otherwise in USSR legislation.

Article 21. Protection of the rights of foreign citizens

Foreign citizens in the USSR have the right to apply to a court and other state organs for the protection of their personal property, family and other rights.

Foreign citizens enjoy procedural rights in court equally with USSR citizens.

Article 22. Attitude to electoral law

Foreign citizens in the USSR may not elect or be elected to soviets of people's deputies and other elected state organs, nor participate in nationwide votes (referenda).

Article 23. Attitude to military service

Foreign citizens are not obliged to undertake military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces.

III. Entry To and Exit From the USSR by Foreign Citizens

Article 24. Entry to the USSR

Foreign citizens may enter the USSR on valid foreign passports or documents taking their place, provided they have a permit issued by the competent Soviet organs.

Entry to the USSR may be refused a foreign citizen:

1) In the interests of ensuring state security or safeguarding public order;

2) If this is necessary to protect the rights and legitimate interests of USSR citizens and other persons;

3) If, during a previous stay in the USSR, facts were established that he violated legislation on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR or customs, currency or other Soviet legislation;

4) If, when applying for entry, he gave false information about himself or did not provide the necessary documents;

5) On other grounds established by USSR legislation.

Article 25. Exit from the USSR

Foreign citizens leave the USSR on valid foreign passports or documents taking their place, provided they have a permit issued by the competent Soviet organs.

Exit from the USSR is refused a foreign citizen:

1) If there are grounds for instituting criminal proceedings against him--before the end of the trial;

2) If he has been convicted for committing a crime--before serving his sentence of being released from punishment;

3) If his departure is against the interests of ensuring state security--before the circumstances preventing his departure cease to apply;

4) If there are other grounds preventing departure established by USSR legislation.

A foreign citizen's exit from the USSR may be postponed until he fulfills property obligations with which are linked the important interests of USSR citizens, other persons and state, cooperative or other social organizations.

Article 26. Transit passage

Foreign citizens transiting through USSR territory proceed by a prescribed route to a border post for exit from the USSR, while observing transit passage regulations, and may stay on USSR territory provided they have a permit issued by the competent Soviet organs.

Article 27. Establishment of regulations governing foreign citizens' entry to and exit from the USSR and transit passage through USSR territory

Regulations governing foreign citizens' entry to and exit from the USSR and transit passage through USSR territory are established by this law and by other acts of USSR legislation.

IV. Responsibility of Foreign Citizens. Reduction of Length of Stay. Expulsion

Article 28. Basis of responsibility for offenses

Foreign citizens who have committed crimes or administrative or other offenses on USSR territory are held responsible on a common basis with USSR citizens.

Article 29. Responsibility for violation of the regulations governing stays in the USSR and transit passage through USSR territory

For violation by foreign citizens of the regulations governing stays in the USSR, that is, for residence without documents granting the right of residence in the USSR or for residence with invalid documents, for failure to observe the established registration or visa procedure or the procedure governing movement and the choice of place of residence, for evasion of departure on the expiry of the length of stay assigned them and also for failure to observe the regulations governing transit passage through USSR territory a warning or a fine of up to R50 may be applied to them as a measure of administrative punishment.

Penalties are imposed by internal affairs organs.

Malicious violation by foreign citizens of the regulations governing stays in the USSR and transit passage through USSR territory entails criminal responsibility.

Article 30. Reduction of length of stay in the USSR

The length of stay assigned to a foreign citizen in the USSR may be reduced if he violates legislation on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR.

The length of stay of a foreign citizen in the USSR may also be reduced in cases where the grounds for his continued stay no longer exist.

The decision to reduce the length of stay is made by internal affairs organs.

Article 31. Expulsion from the USSR

A foreign citizen may be expelled from the USSR:

1) If his actions are against the interests of ensuring state security or safeguarding public order;

2) If this is necessary to safeguard the health and morals of the population or to protect the rights and legitimate interests of USSR citizens and other persons;

3) If he has grossly violated legislation on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR or customs, currency or other Soviet legislation.

A decision on explusion is adopted by the competent Soviet organs. A foreign citizen is obliged to leave the USSR at the time stated in that decision. With the prosecutor's sanction those who evade departure in such cases are liable to be detained and expelled forcibly. Here detention is permitted for the time necessary for explusion.

V. Concluding Provisions

Article 32. Validity of the law with respect to stateless persons

The provisions of this law apply to stateless persons in the USSR, unless stated differently in USSR legislation.

Article 33. Privileges and immunities of heads and employees of foreign states' missions and other persons

The provisions of this law do not affect the privileges and immunities established by USSR legislation and by the USSR's international treaties for heads and employees of foreign diplomatic and consular missions, as well as other persons.

[Signed] L. Brezhnev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

M. Georgadze, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Zagladin Report

PM031032 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 81 Morning Edition pp 3-4

[Text of coreport by Deputy V.V. Zagladin, secretary of the Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission, at 24 June joint session of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities: "Coreport of the Foreign Affairs Commissions and the Legislative Proposals Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities on the USSR Draft Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR"]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! The Foreign Affairs Commissions and the Legislative Proposals Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities have carefully examined the draft law, submitted by the Council of Ministers, on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR. Hitherto the practical questions arising in this context--and they have been considerable--have been governed by numerous acts of legislation adopted at different times. This has created a certain complexity both for the competent Soviet organs and for foreign citizens in the USSR. Thus, the Foreign Affairs and Legislative Proposals Commissions deem it fully expedient and highly opportune to adopt a unified law which will settle all the main questions of the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR. The adoption of the present law will promote the implementation of the Soviet foreign policy of peace and cooperation between the peoples, a policy whose basic principles were vividly embodied in the appeal "to the parliaments and peoples of the world," adopted by the Supreme Soviet yesterday on Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's proposal.

I shall not repeat everything that was said in the report delivered on behalf of the USSR Council of Ministers by Nikolay Vladimirovich Talyzin. In the commissions' opinion the draft law fully accords with the USSR Constitution. It also reflects the prevailing practice in apllying the current legislation on the legal status of foreign citizens in our country. The draft takes due account of the provisions of international treaties to which the USSR is party. The fraternal socialist countries' legislative experience in this sphere has also been utilized.

It should also be particularly stressed that the present draft law differs on principle from similar laws in bourgeois states both by its democratic and humane nature and by the number of questions it has resolved. The main content of laws of the type in force in capitalist countries consists of restrictive rules on the residence and movement of foreigners. In this context one cannot fail to recall the characterization of the status of foreigners, primarily of foreign workers, in imperialist states made by V.I. Lenin as far back as 1917. He spoke of the endless and shameless exploitation of "cheap' foreign workers' labor and of the fact that the "civilized" countries' exploiters also utilize the fact that the imported foreign workers are without rights. This status of immigrant workers in the West of being without rights persists to the present.

Here is just one example. In the EEC countries the children of immigrants essentially have no real opportunity to receive education. In the FRG, in particular, according to figures from the Federal Union of German Employers Associations, there are over 500,000 immigrant workers' children not at school. The government takes no account of these children's interests when drawing up social insurance and education budgets. Thus the leading capitalist states remain indifferent to fulfilling the commitments that have they assumed in international pacts and conventions on ensuring immigrant workers' rights and on eliminating abuses and discrimination in this sphere.

The Soviet state proceeds from a completely different stance which is also clearly reflected in the draft of the law under examination. The draft law points out that foreigners in the USSR, as a rule, have the same rights and obligations as USSR citizens unless it transpires differently from our country's Constitution and other Soviet law. Foreign citizens in the USSR are equal before the law regardless of origin, social or property status, race and nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and character of occupation and other circumstances. In our country they may engage in labor activity and are entitled to education, leisure, pensions and allowances and to receive housing. They are ensured the right to enjoy the achievements of culture on a part with USSR citizens. And this, comrades, is no mere declaration. This is the legislative sealing of that status already and actually possessed by foreign citizens in the USSR. In practice a quite unusual situation emerges. The citizens of many foreign states resident in our country have greater rights, whose enactment is fully guaranteed to the, than in their own country!

Comrade deputies: Soviet people do not and cannot have any prejudices with regard to foreign citizens. Those of them who observe Soviet laws and respect the Soviet people's customs can always count on a benevolent attitude. One can say with satisfaction that such foreigners are in the overwhelming majority. Soviet people regard them with cordiality, show them their traditional hospitality and attention and work alongside them. Soviet people's profound internationalism finds its concrete manifestation here.

Of course, comrades, foreign citizens who cannot count on our good regard are those who at times, unfortunately, abuse our hospitlaity, violate our country's established rules and Soviet customs, currency and other laws and engage in hostile activity which damages the Soviet state. The draft states quite definitely that the enjoyment by foreign citizens of the rights and freedoms granted in the USSR must not harm Soviet society or the state or the rights and legitimate interests of USSR citizens and other people. Those among them who have committed crimes or administrative or other legal violations on our country's territory must bear the responsibility for this on a common basis with USSR citizens.

Comrade deputies. The Foreign Affairs and Legislative Proposals Commissions state that the draft law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR has been carefully drawn up in accordance with the democratic procedure for preparing draft laws prevailing in our country. The Foreign Affairs and Legislative Proposals Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities participated actively in drawing up the draft. The draft law has been examined by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and referred to the Presidiums of the union republic Supreme Soviets, 25 interested ministries and departments and scientific research establishments.

On the whole the Foreign Affairs and Legislative Proposals Commissions approved the draft law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers. At the same time they deemed it advisable to take into consideration a number of observations by deputies, of union republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums and interested USSR ministries and departments and propose certain clarifications and additions to the draft. The aim of these additions is to resolve more precisely some important questions of the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR. All of these amendments have been set out in the commissions' conclusions which you have.

The USSR Council of Ministers agrees with the proposed amendments and they are fully reflected in the draft law distributed to you.

Comrade deputies! The Foreign Affairs and Legislative Proposals Commissions propose that a law "On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR," with the amendments and additions set out in the commissions' conclusion, be ratified.

Talyzin Speech

PM061155 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 81 Morning Edition p 3

[Text of report delivered by N.V. Talyzin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at 24 June joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities: "On the USSR Draft Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR"]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! We are all greatly impressed by the USSR Supreme Soviet appeal "to the parliaments and peoples of the world," put forward by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The appeal states that the ensuring of peace was, is and remains the highest foreign policy goal of the Soviet state.

This follows from the peace program for the eighties advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress, which contains a range of new proposals to improve the present international situation, to preserve and deepen the relaxation of international tension, to curb the arms race and to broaden peaceful cooperation among states. The proposals advanced in Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's report at the congress meet with the support of everyone who values peace on earth.

The Soviet Union consistently pursues a Leninist foreign policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems and of broad international cooperation. This principled policy of our party and state--in elaborating and implementing which inestimable credit belongs to Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium--has won tremendous prestige and recognition throughout the world. It gives a strong boost to the struggle of the people's masses for peace and against the policy of aggressive imperialist circles which are trying to undermine detente, to begin a new spiral of the arms race and to bring the peoples to the brink of a world nuclear disaster. The realization of the peace program is creating favorable conditions for the development of the USSR's international ties in all spheres, including the economy and trade, science and culture, sport and tourism. Contacts of a business and humanitarian nature are strengthening. Over the past 5 years alone 25 million foreign citizens visited our country.

Despite attempts by reactionary circles in the West to create obstacles to the development of the USSR's external relations, our trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with the majority of developed capitalist states is continuing to expand. Businessmen and specialists, scientific and cultural figures and sportsmen come to us--the flow of tourists is increasing yearly.

A special place in our international ties is occupied by relations with the socialist countries, which are imbued with the spirit of friendship and comradely mutual assistance and founded on the principles of socialist internationalism. Together with the fraternal countries we are traveling the path of economic integration and building a new, socialist world. As Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, international relations in the socialist community have really become relations among peoples, for millions upon millions of people participate directly in them.

The successful implementation of the Intercosmos program and the construction in the USSR of Europe's largest gas and chemical complex and of the Soyuz main gas pipeline, using the resources of a more than 15,000-strong international collective--all these are graphic examples of our friendship and close cooperation with fraternal countries.

The Soviet Union is developing broad economic, scientific and technical cooperation with liberated states. Many of them are given assistance in training skilled national cadres. Of the 72,000 foreign students studying in our country's VUZes more than half are citizens of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Comrade Deputies: As you know, an extensive program of the development and improvement of legislation is being implemented in our country on the basis of the USSR Constitution. Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev pointed out in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress that this work is having a very useful effect. "New laws," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, "are making it possible to regulate different aspects of social relations more finely and precisely." And one such new legislative act is to be the law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR, the draft of which has been submitted for examination by this session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The purpose of this draft law is to define comprehensively in a single legislative act the main questions of the legal status of foreign citizens permanently resident or staying temporarily in the Soviet Union. The law's instructions relating to them also apply, unless stated otherwise in USSR legislation, to stateless persons, that is, to people who do not have proof of any particular citizenship.

This is the first time that a law on the legal status of foreign citizens has been drawn up in our country. Of course, there are legal norms on these questions at the present time. As a rule, the principles of civil legislation, legislation on public education, public health, marriage and the family and a number of other legislative acts grant to foreign citizens the same rights as to USSR citizens.

The new law unites the norms of the main questions of the legal status of foreigners in the USSR. It also formulates regulations previously applied in practice but not yet enshrined legislatively. It will facilitate the work of our state organs and help better to inform foreign citizens of their rights and obligations in the Soviet Union.

The draft law was drawn up by the USSR Council of Ministers and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium forwarded it to the Foreign Affairs Commissions and Legislative Proposals Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. Many USSR ministries and departments and representatives of science participated in the work done by the commissions. The draft was considered in the union republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums. Its honed text, prepared with regard to the remarks and suggestions made, contains 5 sections and 33 articles.

The initial legal principles on which the draft law is based are defined by the USSR Constitution.

Article 37 of the constituion states: "Foreign citizens and stateless persons in the USSR are guaranteed the rights and freedoms provided for by law, including the right to apply to a court or other state organs for the protection of their personal, property, family and other rights.

"While on USSR territory, foreign citizens and stateless persons are obliged to respect the USSR Constitution and to observe Soviet laws."

The draft plans provisions have been formulated in development of these principles. It should be emphasized that they fully accord with the current norms of international law, including those contained in the international pact on economic, social and cultural rights and in the international pact on civil and political rights, to which the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian SSR and the Belorussian SSR are parties, as well as with the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference. Also guaranteed is observance of those obligations of the USSR stemming from other international legal documents concerning the status of foreign citizens--for example, treaties on legal aid and agreements on reciprocal visa-less trips, on social security and on consular questions. Account has also been taken of the positive experience of other countries, particularly socialist countries, in the sphere of the legislative regulation of the status of foreigners.

Among the most important provisions of the new draft law it is necessary to note, above all, the granting of a national regime to foreign citizens in the USSR. This means that foreigners in the USSR enjoy the same rights and freedoms and have the same obligations as Soviet citizens, unless stated otherwise in the USSR Constitution, this law or other acts of Soviet legislation. It is emphasized that foreign citizens are equal before the law regardless of origin, social and property status, race and nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation and other circumstances.

While granting broad rights and freedoms to foreign citizens in the Soviet Union, at the same time the draft law obliges them to respect the USSR Constitution and observe Soviet laws and to treat with respect the rules of socialist intercourse and the traditions and customs of the Soviet people.

Millions of people throughout the world know from their own experience that whoever comes to us with good intentions always meets with benevolence and hospitality from the Soviet people, who have been educated in the spirit of respect for other peoples and intolerance of any manifestation of racism and national discrimination.

It is quite understandable that foreigners cannot be granted all the rights of USSR citizens. With regard to the nature of certain rights and duties, they can apply only to USSR citizens. Thus, foreign citizens cannot elect or be elected to soviets of people's deputies and other elected state organs. They are not obliged to undertake military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces and cannot be appointed to certain posts associated with being a citizen of the USSR (for example, a captain of a USSR sea-going ship, an investigator or prosecutor).

Special note must be taken of the special norm to the effect that the enjoyment of rights and freedoms by foreign citizens in the USSR must not harm the interests of Soviet society and the state or the rights and legitimate interests of USSR citizens and other persons.

In accordance with article 38 of the USSR Constitution and the union republic constitutions the new law provides for the USSR and the union republics to grant the right of asylum to foreigners being persecuted for defending working people's interests and the cause of peace, for membership of the revolutionary and national liberation movement or for progressive sociopolitical, scientific and other creative activity.

Of course, we have not granted and do not grant asylum to criminals or terrorists of various kinds whose provocative actions are meeting with growing condemnation from the democratic public of the world's countries.

The draft law enumerates the basic rights, freedoms and obligations of foreign citizens in the USSR. In a number of cases the extent of rights and obligations is dependent upon whether foreign citizens are permanently or temporarily resident in the USSR.

A distinguishing feature of the new law is the legislative enshrinement of the socio-economic rights of foreign citizens in the USSR and the guarantees of the enforcement of these rights. In this the Soviet law differs fundamentally from the laws of the capitalist countries which mainly regulate questions of foreigners' residence and travel and for the rest declare only formally particular rights of foreign citizens with no concern for ensuring these rights' practical enforcement. In the sphere of labor relations the draft law envisages that foreign citizens permanently resident in the Soviet Union can work as workers and employees at enterprises, in institutions and organizations or engage in other labor activity on the basis of the principles and procedure laid down for USSR citizens. Foreigners temporarily resident in the USSR can engage in labor activity in our country if this is compatible with the purpose of their stay in the USSR. Here foreign citizens enjoy the rights and bear the obligations in labor relations on an equal basis with USSR citizens.

Foreign citizens in the USSR have the right to leisure, health care, social security, education and the enjoyment of cultural achievements.

Foreign citizens permanently resident in the USSR have the right to receive for their use accommodation in apartment blocks belonging to the state and public housing pool and housing construction cooperatives on the basis of the same principles and procedure as Soviet citizens.

Under Soviet legislation foreigners can have a residential house or other personal property in the USSR, inherit or bequeth property, own the copyright to works of science, literature and art, discoveries and inventions and other property and personal nonproperty rights.

Foreign citizens in the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience on a par with USSR citizens; they enjoy the same rights and have the same obligations in marital and family relations as Soviet citizens; they are guaranteed inviolability of person and residence.

Foreign citizens permanently resident in the USSR have the right on the same basis as USSR citizens to join trade unions, cooperatives, organizations, scientific and sports societies and other public organizations if this does not contradict these organizations' rules or regulations.

Finally, foreign citizens can travel on USSR territory and select their place of residence in the Soviet Union in accordance with the procedure laid down by USSR legislation. Restrictions on travel and the selection of a place of residence are allowed by the law only in cases where this is essential for safeguarding state security, preserving public order and the population's health and morals, or protecting the rights and legal interests of citizens of the USSR and other people.

A special section of the draft law is devoted to questions of foreign citizens' entry to and exit from the USSR. As a whole it enshrines existing Soviet practice in this sphere. Of course, the law will define only the most important, fundamental regulations. These include establishing the procedure for allowing entry to and exit from the USSR. It should be noted that these regulations are formulated in the draft law with consideration for the requirements of international pacts on human rights and the prevailing practice of international intercourse. This section contains the basic rules on foreign citizens' transit across USSR territory.

With a view to safeguarding regulations on foreign citizens' liability for law violations on the Soviet Union's territory. This liability is enforceable for foreigners who have committed a crime or administrative or other law violation on the USSR's territory and also on the same grounds as for Soviet citizens.

The law provides for administrative and criminal sanctions for violating the rules of residence in our country and transit across the USSR's territory, and also for the reduction of the period of residence in the Soviet Union of foreigners who violate legislation on the legal position of foreign citizens in the USSR and for the expulsion of foreigners from our state on the grounds cited in the law. These measures have also been applied before.

The new law does not affect the privileges and immunities laid down by USSR legislation and the USSR's international treaties for the heads and employees of foreign diplomatic and consular missions and other persons.

Comrade deputies! The draft submitted for your examination is further testimony to the concern of our party and state for the further improvement of Soviet legislation. The new law will be an important contribution from the Soviet Union to the development of international cooperation and the safeguarding of human rights. It graphically demonstrates the true democratism and humanism of the socialist system and Soviet legislation and refutes the intrigues of bourgeois propaganda, which attempts to assert that the rights of foreigners are restricted in the USSR. The law will confirm our country's readiness for the all-round expansion of economic, scientific and cultural ties with other states and with all those to whom the interests of the consolidation of peace throughout the world are dear.

Allow me to express the conviction that the draft law on the legal position of foreign citizens in the USSR will be approved by you. [applause]

Explanation of Law

LD054034 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 3 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jul, TASS--The law on foreigners adopted by the recent session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has for its aim to specify in one legislative act the basic aspects of the legal status of foreign nationals permanently residing or temporarily staying in the Soviet Union, writes the weekly NEW TIMES (NOVOYE VROMYA) explaining the significance of this document.

All the 33 articles of the five sections of the new law proceed from the legal principles of the Soviet Constitution. Therefore foreign citizens in the USSR enjoy the same rights and liberties and have the same duties as citizens of the USSR unless it is said otherwise in the Soviet legislation. Their rights are not affected by their origin, social and property status, race, nationality, sex, education, and language, their attitude to religion, the character of occupation they have or any other circumstances.

The weekly says that the number of foreign citizens staying in Soviet territory permanently or temporarily keeps growing. This refers first of all to citizens of socialist countries, international bodies numbering many thousands are taking part in carrying out the international Intercosmos programme, in building a gas-chemical complex, the biggest one in Europe, and the Soyuz trunk gas pipeline and in other joint undertakings in Soviet territory.

Contrary to fables about the Iron Curtain and allegations about Soviet people's ill-wishing attitude to foreigners and that it is hard to obtain entry visas to the Soviet Union, our country has been visited in the last five years by 25 million citizens from practically all states of the world, the NEW TIMES writes. 72,000 foreign students are studying at Soviet higher schools. Over a half of them come from developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

A foreigner in a bourgeois state, especially if he has nothing except his work-worn hands, is an unfortunate person. The magazine writes. Suffice it to mention the position of Turkish workers in the FRG, of coloured people in Britain, chicanos in the USA, etc... The latest session of the USSR Supreme Soviet demonstrated a different, socialist, approach by the state to a foreign citizen.

KRAZNAYA ZVEZDA VIEWS SUPREME SOVIET APPEAL

PM021452 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jun 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Following the Course of Peace and Creation"]

[Text] The 5th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation, has completed its work in Moscow. Our state's supreme legislative organ has convincingly demonstrated the Soviet Union's unvarying loyalty to the ideals of peace, progress and communist creation for the good of man. The session's documents generated deep interest among all progressive mankind.

The speech delivered at the session by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the appeal "to the world's parliaments and peoples" adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet met with tremendous public response. These documents are imbued with profound concern to strengthen international security and an impassioned appeal can be heard in them to preserve peace. "...Everything must be done now, today," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev stressed, "everything must be done to bar the way to those who love unlimited armaments and military adventures. Everything must be done to ensure people's right to life. And in this matter there can be no bystanders or indifferent people: It concerns one and all. It concerns governments and political parties and public organizations--and, of course, the parliaments elected by the peoples and acting on their behalf."

Today the state of affairs in the world requires additional new efforts to eliminate the threat of war and strengthen international security. This conclusion, drawn by the 26th CPSU Congress, was heard again from the rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. The session noted that the specific program advanced by the congress for strengthening peace today is the focus of world public attention. Our party and the Soviet Government are continuing to work persistently on its implementation.

The correctness of the conclusions drawn by the congress has been convincingly confirmed by the course of international events in the 3 months which have elapsed since. Bellicose militarist circles headed by U.S. imperialism are continuing the arms race of unprecedented dimensions. They are avoiding talks on the restraint of the armament process and on the elimination of hotbeds of conflict and the peaceful solution of vexed international problems. They are shamelessly encouraging acts of overt aggression and international banditry by their henchmen.

The pitch of the international situation is becoming increasingly dangerous. Increasingly refined and lethal weapons are being created on our planet, which is already overladen with the weapons of mass destruction. Launchpads are being prepared for hundreds of new U.S. nuclear missiles in West Europe. Imperialism, primarily U.S. ruling circles, is counting on achieving military superiority over the USSR and the socialist community and is resorting to threats and openly making claims to intervene in the affairs of other countries and peoples. And all this is camouflaged by the gross fabrication of the "Soviet military threat."

In this situation, it was stressed from the rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, the responsibility of all peace-loving countries and peoples for thwarting imperialism's adventurist plans, preventing the irreparable from occurring, and preserving peace is exceptionally great.

Soviet people are profoundly aware of this responsibility. They have forgotten nothing of the harsh experience of the past war imposed on our country by fascist Germany. They are doing everything in their power to prevent another, even more devastating war that would threaten man's future.

The safeguarding of peace has been, is and remains the supreme goal of the Soviet state's foreign policy. The peace program for the eighties advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress is aimed at this. A program which covers a wide range of questions of both a political and a military nature and touches on the state of affairs in Europe and the Near, Middle and Far East. A program which expresses the Soviet Union's readiness to hold talks on all topical issues of peace and security, and to treat attentively any constructive ideas from other states.

The Soviet Union, the USSR Supreme Soviet solemnly stated in its appeal, is threatening no one and is not seeking confrontation with a single state in West or East. The Soviet Union has not sought and does not seek military superiority. It has not initiated and will not initiate new spirals of the arms race. There is no type of arms which it would not agree to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis by agreement with other states.

The international activity of the CPSU and our state is aimed primarily at ensuring for the Soviet people the necessary external conditions for resolving the creative tasks facing them, the main one being the fullest satisfaction of people's growing material and spiritual requirements. One more testimony to the invariability of this course is the entire work of the fifth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The session examined the question of the development of housing facilities and the improvement of the use and conservation of the available housing and adopted a relevant resolution. This wholly and fully accords with the housing policy elaborated by the 26th CPSU Congress for the 11th 5-Year Plan and the period through 1990. The consistent implementation of the legislative acts adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet session will be an important contribution to the implementation of the course outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress for the steady improvement of the people's welfare.

The session also examined other questions. It adopted a law "on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR" and laws and resolutions on the approval of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees.

The session decisions and documents met with warm approval in the army and navy as they did throughout the country. Soviet servicemen are studying with profound interest Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's speech at the session and the USSR Supreme Soviet appeal "to the world's parliaments and peoples." Considering the complex international situation and the increased danger of war from imperialism, the motherland's armed defenders are maintaining high vigilance, struggling persistently for the further enhancement of their combat readiness, and successfully resolving the complex tasks of the summer training period. The USSR Armed Forces together with the armies of the fraternal Warsaw Pact countries are a reliable guard of the gains of socialism and the bulwark of the peoples' peace and security.

The Soviet people are resolving confidently and enthusiastically the tasks of communist building. Boundlessly devoted to the party's great ideals, under its tested leadership they are marching confidently along Lenin's course of peace and creation.

RADIO REPORTS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS 1-4 JUL

LD040254/LD050118/LD060116 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 1-4 July. Times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

1 July

The grain harvest is in full swing in the south of Kazakhstan; Chimkentskaya Oblast has pledged to produce at least 10 million poods. The Checheno-Ingushskaya ASSR wheat harvest has begun. (0700 GMT)

The harvest is gathering pace; five rayons in Chimkentskaya Oblast have gathered in all grains. It has been pledged to sell to the state at least 10 million poods of grain above plan this year [as heard]. Surkhandarinskaya Oblast has been the first in Uzbekistan to complete the harvest of winter crops. The harvest is nearing completion in Turkmenia; farms in Ashkhabadskaya and Krasnovodskskaya Oblasts have completed harvesting and threshing of winter grains. (0800 GMT)

Report from farms in Chimkentskaya Oblast: This year, harvest conditions have been very bad. Until the middle of June it rained hard and there was a lot of wind, which flattened cereal crops. Then it became very hot and all the crops ripened at once. This year there are nearly 25 million hectares sown to cereals in Kazakhstan and farmers intend to harvest at least 28-29 million tons. Work is in full swing in Chimkentskaya Oblast and it has been started in Dzhambulskaya and Taldy-Kurganskaya Oblasts. The first grain has also been cut in Alma-Atinskaya Oblast. In the virgin lands the crops are at the stage of bushing out and their condition is not bad. Farmers are procuring fodders and completing preparation of machinery for harvesting. (0809 GMT)

Tadzhik farmers are harvesting at rapid rates. To date, grain crops and legumes have been harvested on an area of more than 48,000 hectares. Over the past week, harvest work has been carried out on the same area as last month. This year, areas sown to grain crops and legumes have been considerably extended and farmers have pledged to raise grain production to 300,000 tons (1230 GMT)

2 July

In Kazakhstan, five oblasts have fulfilled the plan for laying-in of haylage. (0100 GMT)

Grain sale targets have been made by Andizhanskaya Oblast farmers. Yields here averaged over 28 quintals per hectare. Uzbekistan as a whole has harvested grain from 600,000 hectares, two-thirds of the area. More than 600,000 tons of grain have been threshed. (0204 GMT)

Cutting of barley and peas is now being done by farms in 10 oblasts in the Ukraine. To date, 500,000 hectares of these crops have been harvested. Tadzhikistan has cut sown and natural grasses on an area of more than 215,000 hectares which covers 75 percent of the plan. Omskaya Oblast has brought in 250,000 tons of coarse and succulent fodders to date. Tul'skaya Oblast is engaged in haycutting. (0400 GMT)

The rate of harvesting on grain fields in the Ukraine is accelerating. The harvest which has begun on oblast farms is at present proceeding in barley fields. In the Crimea, the main crops, wheat, is already being laid into swathes. High productivity is being achieved: There are over 10,000 harvest and transportation complexes in the republic. (0800 GMT)

Farms in the Azov Steppes are the first in Donetskaya Oblast to begin harvesting grain crops. In order to prevent grain waste, it has been decided to carry out reaping in 4 to 5 days. Machine operators of Chardzhouskaya Oblast, Turkmenia, have completed a second harvesting of alfalfa.

Rates of fodder procurement are exceeding those of last year and the range of fodder crops has been broadened. Late corn is being sown together with soya. Almost twice as much fodder as last year has been procured in Saratovskaya Oblast. The second harvest of alfalfa began today in a number of rayons and a third is to come. Viktor Ivanovich Ilyin, secretary of the Crimean Obkom, is interviewed on Crimean agriculture: He says that more is being done to produce and prepare fodder. Considerably more fodder has been procured to date than by the same date last year. For the first time in many years it is reckoned that there will be one ton of hay per cow. The planned quantity of haylage will be available, as will be silage and coarse fodder as a whole. There are also quite good prospects for concentrated fodder. Harvesting of early grain crops has already been completed, including winter barley; wheat is currently being harvested. It looks as though the planned grain target of 2 million tons will be reached this year. Attention is being paid to increasing forage crops, and for this purpose more spring barley is being grown; this being better for the purpose than wheat, which was previously the staple crop in this respect. Much corn is being sown, of which a 60-70 quintals per hectare yield is expected. Soya planting has also considerably increased. Over 21,000 hectares have been sown to soya. This is twice as much as last year. In the next few years it will be further increased to 30,000 hectares. Much attention is paid to perennial grasses. There is emphasis on alfalfa, clover, perko and several others because of their protein value. These are mainly for mixed fodders. More is also being done to produce the so-called green compound fodders [zelenykh kombikormov]. Grass crops are no longer fed in isolation to the animals, but rather in mixtures of grass and leguminous crops. The target of milk yield per forage cow for the whole year is over 3,000 kg, which will be a record. (1000 GMT)

In the Latvian SSR, unstable weather in June has complicated the laying-in of fodder in the republic's agriculture. Over one-half the grass area has been mowed, but as yet, little fodder has been procured. A decision of the Latvian Communist Party Bureau on the course of the laying-in of fodder was published today. It notes that in 8 of the 26 rayons, laying-in of fodder is proceeding slowly. A number of farms are laying in low quality fodder. The decision makes it incumbent on the republican Ministry of Agriculture and Fruit and Vegetables, the Selkhoztekhnika association and party organizations to increase the rate of laying in fodder and to improve its quality. Hay mowing is in its decisive stage; tens of thousands of town dwellers are helping the machine operators. (1330 GMT)

3 July

Land improvers in the country have completed the first irrigation operation of sown fields over an area of 14.5 million hectares. Many areas have been watered twice. Irrigation work in Stavropolskiy Kray and Saratovskaya Oblast is very well organized. Reservoirs in the Central Asian republics are sufficiently full and measures are being taken for their rational use. But irrigation work is progressing in an unorganized fashion in many areas: In Kiyevskaya, Khersonskaya and some other Ukrainian oblasts, the first irrigation has not been completed. Land reclamation work is behind in Moldavia. Machinery is not being efficiently used in Tambovskaya Oblast, Checheno-Inguskaya and Kabardino-Balkarskaya ASSR's, Krasnodarskiy Kray and Rostovskaya Oblast. Soils were wet enough until June, but when hot weather arrived many farms were unprepared for irrigation. The Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and local bodies have taken steps to accelerate work. Mass harvesting of grain is underway in south Kazakhstan. The harvest is underway in difficult weather. There has not been sufficient rainfall and crops are maturing unevenly. (0100 GMT)

Uzbekistan has threshed over 75,000 tons of wheat and barley to date. Kirgizia has cut grains on almost 100,000 hectares, one-fifth of the plantings. Rostovskaya Oblast farmers have already windrowed around 600,000 hectares of barley and winter wheat. (0400 GMT)

In the Karshinskaya Steppe, harvesting is proceeding around-the-clock. The harvest is good: no less than 60 quintals per hectare. (0700 GMT)

Harvest work is gaining pace in Kirgizia. It has reached the Talas Valley, where grain crops are to be harvested in 10-12 working days. In the large grain-growing area of the Chu Valley, harvesting is nearing completion. In the republic as a whole, grain crops have been cut on an area of 100,000 hectares, which is one-fifth of all seedlings. (0800 GMT)

Harvesting is underway everywhere in the Northern Caucasus. Harvesting is under way in all rayons of Rostovskaya Oblast; grain has ripened 2 weeks earlier than usual. In Krasnodarskiy Kray, in Stavropolskiy Kray and the North Causcasus ASSR's, winter wheat is being procured; in some areas it has ripened unevenly. Final harvesting preparations are being completed in Astrakhanskaya, Volgogradskaya Oblasts and Kalmykia. (1100 GMT)

On the Don, the decisive days of harvesting have arrived. All rayons of the oblast are carrying out harvesting. (1200 GMT)

In Moldavia, the harvesting of winter wheat has begun. Five hundred combined brigades are working in the fields. On the Don it is now the critical reaping time. Harvesting is going on in all areas of Rostovskaya Oblast. (1750 GMT)

4 July

Harvesting has reached the Talnakh Mountain Valley in Kirgizia. In the Chu Valley, reaping is ending on many farms. In the republic as a whole, grain has been reaped on 100,000 hectares, which is one-fifth of the entire sown area. (0200 GMT)

Krasnodarskiy Kray begins mass harvesting of winter wheat today, which is sown on more than 1.5 million hectares. The harvest looks promising and farmers have pledged to collect 8.5-9 million tons of grain. (0204 GMT)

So far, Uzbekistan has delivered 200,000 tons of grain to procurement points. Kashkadarinskaya Oblast is leading with the plan for sales to the state more than 80 percent fulfilled. Farms in the Ukraine have procured 3.5 million tons of hay, which is 4 times more than by this time last year. Ground has been cleared on 550,000 hectares, and second sowings of fodder crops have been carried out. (0400 GMT)

Altayskiy Kray: A mass subbotnik for fodder procurement is in progress today. To date, 600,000 tons of hay, haylage and grass meal have been procured, considerably above the beginning of July last year. The collectives of many industrial enterprises in Vologodskaya Oblast left today for the countryside to help in haymaking work. Sown and natural grasses in this large Non-Chernozem oblast have been cut on the first 50,000 hectares. The reaped areas are being top-dressed with mineral fertilizers to obtain a repeat harvest of valuable fodder for public livestock. (1000 GMT)

Winter wheat harvesting has begun today in Krasnodarskiy Kray, Donetskskaya Oblast and wheat has now been delivered to elevators in the farms surrounding the Black Sea. Odesskaya Oblast has pledged this year not less than 1.5 million tons of grain. Dagestanskaya ASSR: Almost all rayons are harvesting. It is planned here to gather 500,000 tons of grain. A start at harvesting has been made in the south of Voronezhskaya Oblast, where farms have begun selective reaping of winter crops. (1100 GMT)

ALIYEV ADDRESSES AZERBAIJAN GROUPS ON AGRICULTURE

Speech to Aktiv

PM021353 [Editorial Report] Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian on 20 June carries on pages 1 and 2 a 6,400-word AZERINFORM report entitled "Agriculture--To the Level of 26th CPSU Congress Requirements" on a meeting of Azerbaijan's party-economic aktiv at the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Club in Baku date not specified. The report notes that the meeting was opened by "G.A. Aliyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee," who also delivered a speech of which a 5,500-word account is included in the AZERINFORM report. Aliyev refers to the tasks for Azerbaijan's agriculture as set by the 26th CPSU Congress and notes the "all-around improvements" in the republic in the sector, although he asserts the need to "eliminate shortcomings." Aliyev notes "slow but steady progress" in stockraising, criticizes some leaders' attitudes and censures certain raykoms. He asserts that the "necessary attitude" is still not being paid to fodder production, notes instances of "distortion of data" in some spheres and cites "low indicators" in harvest work. He calls for a "record" truck-farming yield and the "prompt" completion of agricultural construction work and stresses the "tremendous role" of socialist competition.

Cotton Conference Held

LD061224 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Jul 81

[Text] The farmers of Azerbaijan have pledged to mark the first year of the new 5-year plan with a record cotton harvest. This was stated today at a republican conference in Agdash of frontrankers from the cotton planting regions. Its participants discussed the care of the cotton plant, the harvesting and handing over to the state of grain and the procurement of fodder. It was reported that grain farmers have already finished reaping one-third of the grain area. A speech was delivered by candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Aliyev.

IZVESTIYA VIEWS LITHUANIAN LIVESTOCK SITUATION

PM031533 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 18 June in its Morning Edition carries on page 3 a 2,100-word Vilnyus report by correspondent I. Kasyukov entitled "Lithuanian Livestock Units Dependent on the State." Kasyukov itemizes the state's major capital investments in Lithuanian livestock raising and proceeds to examine the return on the investments, stating, in particular, that the 10th 5-Year Plan target for meat purchases was fulfilled by only 96 percent. "Clearly, the livestock raising potential was not fully utilized," the report says. The report then compares, in some detail, Lithuanian figures with those achieved in Estonia. Kasyukov brushes aside attempts to blame the weather. He concedes that the last 3 years have been "unfavorable," but only for Lithuania: "The Estonian livestock raisers worked much better despite the fact that they are operating in worse natural and climatic conditions." The report stresses the "chronic shortage of animal feed for Lithuania" which Kasyukov puts down to the "unwarranted" reduction of the area sown to fodder drops. The report compares Lithuania 's sowing practice unfavorably with Estonia's and goes on to say that in the sheep, beef cattle, dairy and hog sectors Estonia has a better approach and better results than Lithuania.

The report concludes by quoting the example of a kolkhoz in Vilnyusskiy Rayon which suggests that the republic "is beginning to revise its approach to the development of livestock raising." But it must act "more decisively," Kasyukov says.